Daily Report

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Akhromeyev on Military Policy, Yazov in Bern

AU151314 Rome ANSA in English 1301 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Rome, March 15 (ANSA)—"In the present era war can no longer be considered the pursuit of policy with other means because it would lead to the liquidation of mankind," in the words of Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, the head of the Soviet Chiefs of Staff in a statement for publication in the Tuesday editions of IL MESSAGGERO, a Rome daily.

The 65-year-old deputy minister outlined for the first time new Soviet military policy following the rise to power three years ago of Mikhail Gorbachev and on the eve of the meeting in Bern between Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov and U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci.

"The political military concept of the Soviet Union," Akhromeyev said in is interview, "has not changed on the general political level. The USSR remains firm on the principle of not being the first side to declare war and never being the first to use atomic weapons."

The change, he said, is in the passage to what could be called the principle of "sufficiency". He said that "we feel that in Europe, NATO and the Warsaw Pact must have a minimum of force and conventional arms, sufficient for national defense but not sufficient for aggression and offense."

The Soviet military authority reiterated the principle of reducing strategic missiles by equal percentages on the two sides, the issue Gorbachev will take up at his next summit with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Moscow in May.

The Soviet Union will go into the talks in Bern with a host of proposals, the marshal said and summarized them as: "For the frontier zone between the two alliances, NATO and Warsaw Pact, a decrease in the numbers of troops and armaments to a minimum agreed to in this area, which is the most dangerous, and the creation of a denuclearized corridor 300 kilometers long; the creation in Europe of areas without nuclear and chemical arms and the limitation of military maneuvers."

In conclusion, Akhromeyev mentioned the question of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, or the Star Wars space-based missile defense system. "Also this will be brought up tomorrow in Bern," he said. "The Americans intend to experiment in space with the components of the missiles defense system but this contradicts the ABM Treaty of 1972. For a long time the U.S. has been trying to convince us to work together on this project but we are saying no. We do not want the cosmos militarized," he said.

Supreme Soviet Commission Meets on INF

LD141629 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (TASS)—There was a routine session today of the Preparatory Commission created as a working organ of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to carefully work out all questions connected with the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The session examined the progress of preparations for the Soviet side's fulfillment of the provisions of the INF Treaty following its entry into force, and also for the implementation of monitoring its fulfillment by the U.S. side. Certain other aspects of the INF Treaty were also discussed. Taking part in the session, which on this occasion was held behind closed doors, were senior officials of the USSR Foreign Ministry, the USSR Defense Ministry, the USSR Committee for State Security, and a number of other ministries and departments.

The results of the discussion will be considered by the Preparatory Commission in compiling a report that will be presented to the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet on completion of its work.

West Europe Disarmament Reservations Criticized

PM141607 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by V. Viktorov under the rubric: "The Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles": "What Next"]

[Text] Millions of people throughout the world are awaiting the earliest ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The peoples have also perceived in this treaty, which is extremely important per se, an indicator of the possibility of finally putting an end to the "cold war" and effecting a resolute turnaround toward a demilitarized world.

This aim can be achieved (and within a comparatively short period) if the program of measures to curb the arms race enshrined in the joint statement by the leaders of the two powers is implemented. This document essentially answers the question regarding what to do next and what course to choose after the elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The guidelines outlined are as follows: a 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive armaments while observing the ABM Treaty and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed period [v podlezhashchiy soglasovaniyu srok]; the speediest conclusion of a treaty on a complete end to nuclear testing; the elimination of chemical weapons; and the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

This difficult but feasible action program for the sake of universal peace and disarmament has been adopted by all Warsaw Pact states. At a meeting in Berlin their leaders, after approving the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, stated that they will take concerted actions at the new phase in the interests of disarmament and international cooperation.

The Soviet-U.S. accords were also approved by NATO countries. An appeal has come from Western Europe to the U.S. Senate to ratify the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

But does everyone in the West agree that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles be taken as a starting point and that dynamism be imparted to the disarmament talks along all avenues? Unfortunately, this is not the case. On the eve of the meeting in Washington, calls began to be heard in certain Western capitals for a "pause" in disarmament following the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Why? Who benefits from such a "time-out" in efforts designed to curtail the arms race? Of course, only those people who associate their political and material prosperity with this race.

Attention is drawn to the statements and plans of representatives of NATO military circles, who are insisting on urgent measures being adopted to "compensate" for the elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by transferring new nuclear forces to Europe and European shores and modernizing existing nuclear armaments and other armaments there.

Such plans have a single aim—to undermine the effectiveness of the Washington accords. They were even concerned with setting "traps" when the real outlines of the future agreement appeared on the horizon. Then, according to the Western press, NATO military chiefs began to discuss the question of which new armaments are to be moved into Europe to strike those sites which had been targeted by the Pershings and cruise missiles. They also examined the following possibilities: The redeployment of the F-111 aircraft now in Britain to the continent, "nearer to targets in the enemy's rear"; the deployment of ships and submarines, armed with sea-launched cruise missiles with a range of 1,500 miles; and the modification of the B-52 bombers.

K. Adelman, former—until recently—director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, in an interview with Austria's DIE PRESSE called the demand to eliminate close-range [blizhnego deystviya] nuclear missiles a "bad and dangerous idea", stating that "it is necessary to embark immediately on a buildup of this category of weapons." R. Perle, his age-old ideological Pentagon comrade in arms, states intimidatingly: "The transformation of Europe into a nuclear-free zone would be a catastrophe for Western security: That is why the treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces must be the last step in the nuclear arms control sphere... until such time as the Soviet Union abandons its colossal superiority in conventional armaments...."

At the 2-3 March session of the NATO Council in Brussels, in which this bloc's heads of state and government took part, the question was discussed, along with approval of the results of the Soviet-U.S. Washington meeting, of how NATO will act when the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles enters into force. Cognizant of the fact that this historic agreement enjoys massive support both in Europe and also throughout the world, the session's participants could not bring themselves to openly include in their declaration the idea of the need to "compensate" for the missiles being reduced or to "modernize" the remaining nuclear armaments. Vaguer terminology is used with regard to the intention to "continue to maintain" NATO nuclear and conventional forces "at the most modern level in the future." Immediately after the close of the NATO Council session, M. Thatcher interpreted these words as a decision to "modernize" NATO arms arsenals. Britain's prime minister stated frankly that "it is necessary to carry out modernization, there is no doubt of this." President R. Reagan also expressed himself in the same vein in his radio address of 5 March, stressing that the further modernization of NATO forces—both nuclear and also conventional—"is absolutely essential."

The fact that the NATO leaders supported a 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive armaments can be considered positive. However, if you take other urgent arms limitation problems, with all the will in the world, you cannot find a satisfactory answer in the Brussels session documents to the question of whether the West is in fact prepared to use the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as a springboard for moving on to other disarmament accords. One can conclude with complete certainty that the NATO members are not setting themselves the goal of eliminating nuclear armaments in Europe. On the contrary, they have once again confirmed their commitment to the strategy of deterrence, which must, in their opinion, be based on the "correct combination of appropriate and effective nuclear and conventional forces."

Such a formula deliberately tries to justify the steps to modernize NATO nuclear armaments as a kind of natural right on the part of those possessing them. And what about the sphere of conventional armaments? The NATO leaders's statement contains not even a hint of the idea of reciprocal reductions or the removal of asymmetries and imbalances in both NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces. The participants in the Brussels conference insist stubbornly on reductions only in those areas where they consider that the Soviet Union has the edge.

Unlike Western powers, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries occupy a clear, well-defined position. They advocate moving rapidly on to accords in all

spheres where the arms race is is being conducted, using as a springboard the precedent established by the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Their program concentrates on profound and effective limitation and the reduction of both conventional and nuclear armaments. The Soviet Union is not playing a political game which would conform only with its unilateral interests. It is proceeding on the basis of the conviction that if you want agreements you must see the real state of affairs.

Attempts to circumvent by devious means the treaty which has been signed—for you cannot call the plans for "compensation" or "modernization" anything else—are evoking great disquiet in many Western countries. The leadership of the FRG Social-Democratic Party has resolutely advocated the continuation of the disarmament process and the abandonment of any "arms upgrading." As is well-known, Bonn does not exclude discussion of the question of missiles with a range of up to 500 km even at governmental level, although it is also bringing to the fore the question of conventional armaments, in harmony with the NATO Brussels declaration. Kinnock, leader of Britain's Labor Party, has called upon his government not to replace the U.S. cruise missiles subject to elimination with other intermediate-range sea- and air-launched armaments. Scandinavian countries' political leaders and public vigorously oppose plans to build up armaments in the seas and air of the north European region.

The world community, above all the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union, and healthy forces in all countries must redouble their efforts to protect the first little shoot of nuclear disarmament, which has sprouted through the depths of prejudice and the stereotypes of hostility. This is one of the priority tasks in world politics. Without its resolution, it is impossible to realize the emergent opportunity, bolster the positive trends, rid ourselves of the burden of militarism, and bring nearer the prospect of a nonnuclear world.

Once-Secret Missile Destruction Facility Viewed
LD141340 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—By TASS commentator Gennadiy Talalayev:

New entries are being added to the chronicle of the nuclear disarmament process, which was started on December 8, 1987, by signing the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, as the document has begun to be translated into reality.

Trains carrying Soviet shorter-range OTR-22 (SS-12) and OTR-23 (SS-23) missiles, which were removed from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia late last month—even before the treaty's ratification—by agreement with the governments of those countries, are arriving at the settlement of Saryozek in the remote Kazakhstan steppes.

A group of Soviet correspondents and their colleagues from socialist countries visited that once top-secret facility last Saturday.

The reporters, who represented news agencies, the press, radio and television, witnessed the unloading of the second train with missiles and prime movers from Waren, the GDR.

Four more such trains are expected this week from that country and Czechoslovakia.

The unloading over, the column of prime movers with missiles and a bus with the newsmen went to the storage site where the weapons will be kept up to their elimination following the INF Treaty's ratification by both sides and its entry into force.

Saryozek is the only place in the Soviet Union, where all Soviet shorter-range missiles will be destroyed.

The early withdrawal of Soviet shorter-range missiles from the GDR and Czechoslovakia to the elimination site is evidence that the Soviet Union is prepared to honor its commitments consistently and in good faith.

The Warsaw treaty members have begun to undo the nuclear missile potential created by them to offset the deployment of U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

Taking this move, the Soviet Union and its allies are convinced that they are on the right track to stronger international security.

The return of the Soviet missiles to Soviet territory is a call for trust among nations and for a search for mutually acceptable solutions to conflict situations.

Talking with reporters at Saryozek, Colonel Vyacheslav Ogurtsov, a spokesman for the Political Administration of the Central Asian Military District, said:

"We have made the good will gesture without waiting for the treaty's ratification and are entitled to expect it to be interpreted correctly by the other side, as the treaty can only be fulfilled completely if there is reciprocal movement."

USSR Prepared To Give Up Nuclear Status

LD131420 Hamburg DPA in German 1237 GMT 13 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Starnberg (DPA)—According to Valentin Falin, head of the Soviet NOVOSTI news agency, the USSR remains ready to completely give up its nuclear status by the end of this century, and to get in line with all the non-nuclear states. [passage omitted]

Falin complained that the past 2 months, following the Washington agreement on intermediate-range missiles, have been wasted, because the U.S. side has not continued to work constructively. "The key to disarmament lies today in Washington, London, Paris, and Brussels—and in Bonn, too", the leading Soviet official said. Moscow is ready "to disarm as thoroughly as the states in the West are ready to do so." For a long time, the United States has been bringing up the issue of verification of disarmament steps as a pretext, but now they have to come clean. With regard to the next summit meeting in Moscow, Falin expressed the hope that the two superpowers would agree on the halving of their strategic nuclear weapons in May or in early June. [passage omitted]

According to Falin—whom [Greens deputy] Mechtersheimer described as "an ambassador of the new thinking"—Gorbachev's perestroyka policy is not cosmetic. Rather, it means structural changes and a return to the models which characterized the October Revolution. [passage omitted] Falin said that it is "time for every nation to begin the new thinking." Forty years have been lost since World War II. There should be no more policy in which profits for some are built on losses for others.

The ex-ambassador sees great possibilities for the Federal Republic in German-Soviet cooperation. His country can only utilize one out of five inventions through lack of resources. Billions from armaments would be far more sensibly used for scientific research, such as combating cancer. Here, the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union could set an example by the joint financing of laboratories. The same is true of cooperation in the sphere of clean air, where the USSR still has to suffer more than three times as much from sulfur dioxide pollution as it "exports" to the West. "We are not, however, saying that you are poisoning the Soviet Union and socialism," Falin said.

Further on Falin Remarks

LD121757 Hamburg DPA in German 1728 GMT 12 Mar 88

[Text] Starnberg (DPA)—According to Valentin Falin, head of the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI, the USSR is prepared to give up its nuclear status completely and to get into line with all the nonnuclear states. The former Moscow ambassador in Bonn spoke on Saturday before the annual assembly of the Starnberg "Research Institute for Peace Policy," chaired by the Lower House deputy of the Greens, Alfred Mechtersheimer.

The key to disarmament today lies not only in Washington, London, Paris, and Brussels, but also on the Rhine, Falin said. In the conventional disarmament sector, the Soviet Union does not object to the "uneven" steps as such, as demanded by the West. However, Moscow does object if this was to turn into unilateral disarmament by the East.

A war between West and East, Falin said, today had "become completely impossible." The leading Soviet functionary asserted: "We are condemned to live together or die together." Even a conventional war would mean a disaster for Europe today because it would jeopardize nuclear power stations and chemical factories. Therefore, it has to be ruled out.

Havana Conference Participants, Results Listed
PM141111 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "End of Conference in Cuba"]

[Text] Havana, 4 Mar—A conference of socialist countries' Communist and workers party central committee secretaries for international questions was held in Havana 29 February through 3 March 1988. Participating in it were: from the BCP—Milko Balev, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary, and Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary; from the MSZMP—Matyas Szuros, MSZMP Central Committee secretary; from the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV]—Tran Xuan Bach, Politburo member and CPV Central Committee secretary; from the SED—Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary; from the Workers Party of Korea [WPK]—Hwang Chang-yop, secretary of the WPK Central Committee; from the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC]—Jorge Risquet Valdes, PCC Central Committee Politburo member and Secretariat member; Julio Camacho Aguilera, PCC Central Committee Politburo member; Lionel Soto, PCC Central Committee Secretariat member; and Carlos Aldana Escalante, member of the PCC Central Committee Secretariat; from the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP]—Somlat Chanthamat, secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the LPRP Central Committee Propaganda Committee; from the MPRP—Tserendashiyn Namsray, Politburo member and MPRP Central Committee secretary; from the PZPR—Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary; from the RCP—Ion Stoian, Political Executive Committee candidate member and RCP Central Committee secretary; from the CPSU—A.F. Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary; and from the CPCZ—Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary.

The conference participants held a broad exchange of opinions on the international situation, which remains complex and contradictory. At the same time, it was unanimously pointed out that positive trends are being strengthened thanks to the actions of all the forces of socialism, peace, and reason. The significance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was emphasized in this connection.

The conference participants confirmed their parties' determination to use the favorable opportunities that have arisen to scale new heights in the cause of disarmament, above all the phased reduction of nuclear weapons, down to their complete elimination, the creation of nuclear-free zones, the ending of nuclear tests, the nonmilitarization of space, the speediest prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, and the substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional arms. The socialist countries will strive for the irreversible process of reducing arms, lessening the danger of war, and strengthening international trust and peace. It was unanimously pointed out that the significance of actions by broad antiwar forces is increasing, particularly under modern conditions.

The numerous initiatives advanced by the socialist countries to make progress on the path of disarmament, create a nuclear-free world, and strengthen international and regional security demonstrate their profound responsibility for the destiny of mankind and prove that socialism and peace are indivisible. The readiness to constructively examine the peace proposals of other states and political forces—such as the Stockholm declaration of the Group of Six, the initiatives of the Nonaligned Movement and the Socialist International, and others—was reaffirmed. At the same time, concern was expressed in connection with the attempts by certain NATO circles to hinder the disarmament process by compensating for the reduction in arms by modernizing them and creating new types.

The conference participants discussed the developing countries' dramatic economic position exacerbated by the foreign debt burden and its political, social, and cultural consequences. In this context they noted the close link between the cardinal problems of peace, disarmament, and development. The huge funds released as the insane arms race and military spending are curtailed must play a substantial role in resolving the tragic problems which burden a large part of mankind and are a source of conflict. Examining the question of ways to strengthen peace throughout the world, create an all-embracing system of international security, and restructure international relations on just and democratic principles, the conference participants emphasized the need to overcome underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order—which will, in the final analysis, benefit all countries. They expressed support for the nonaligned countries' activities in this direction.

The Havana conference provided a favorable opportunity to exchange information on the situation in Central America in the context of the Latin American peoples' struggle to strengthen national independence and achieve socioeconomic progress. The conference participants confirmed their support for efforts aimed at establishing peace in Central America on the basis of respect for every people's sovereign will—which will enable the countries of the region to concentrate their forces on resolving the difficult socioeconomic problems facing them. They noted the danger of U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy in the region and of the attempts to eliminate the Sandinist people's revolution, and once again voiced their solidarity with the Nicaraguan people's heroic struggle. The conference expressed concern in connection with the attempts at destabilization, particularly through military coups, to which the democratic processes developing in South America are subject under the conditions of an acute economic situation, and

confirmed solidarity with the peoples of the entire continent, who oppose dictatorships of a fascist trend and struggle for freedom and democracy and in defense of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The conference participants reaffirmed their unbreakable solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa against neocolonialism and for independent development along the path of economic and social progress, with the Communists, and with all fighters for national and social liberation suffering from persecution and repression by the forces of reaction, racism, and apartheid.

Proceeding from the premise that peace is indivisible, they resolutely advocate the political, negotiated settlement of the conflicts occurring in various parts of the world, which represent dangerous hotbeds of international tension, notably in southern Africa, the Near East, and Southwest and Southeast Asia. The conference participants came out in support of initiatives aimed at reducing the tension caused, above all, by imperialism's actions, particularly the DPRK proposal for sharply reducing the armed forces of the North and the South and turning the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone.

The conference participants evaluated highly the international meeting of representatives of parties and movements held in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Great October and pointed out that initiatives of this kind meet the demands of our time and help to establish a constructive dialogue and cooperation among all political forces interested in strengthening peace, in disarmament, development, and environmental protection, and in resolving other vital problems facing mankind.

The conference also examined questions of cooperation and international solidarity among Communist and workers parties in the name of peace and socialism on the basis of the principles of independence, equality, and respect for every party's right to determine its own political line, strategy, and tactics independently in accordance with its own country's specific conditions.

The conference participants expressed gratitude to the PCC for carefully preparing and organizing the conference, solidarity with the Cuban revolution, and cordial wishes for successes to the Cuban people in the cause of building and defending socilaism.

The conference was held in an atmosphere of fraternal mutual understanding and a free, businesslike exchange of opinions. It was agreed that the next conference will be held in Sofia.

Human Rights 'Priority' in Future U.S. Talks

PM141145 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev article: "Human Rights and International Cooperation. Who Needs Skirmishes?"]

[Text] Questions of humanitarian cooperation and human rights have become an important component of international relations, notably Soviet-U.S. relations. At the recent talks with Secretary of State Shultz in Moscow, they were among such problems of primary importance as the question of the ratification of the INF Treaty, the preparations to conclude a treaty on strategic offensive armaments, and regional conflicts. The sides, as the joint statement says, "discussed human rights and humanitarian questions frankly and constructively." The Soviet leadership stressed that we are open for constructive discussion of any important problem in this sphere and that humanitarian issues and human rights questions will be given high priority at subsequent Soviet-U.S. meetings.

The word "frank" in contemporary diplomatic vocabulary signifies a definite sharpness in the exchanges. This is not surprising: For some time now, our Western partners have tried to speculate on the emotionally charged question of human rights for their own political, propaganda purposes. The Soviet Union advocates businesslike discussion of the whole range of humanitarian questions. Human rights should be discussed in terms of practical solutions promoting the strengthening of international cooperation and not in order to intensify the division between peoples.

I do not know how the U.S. secretary of state argued his position at these talks. I only hope that he did not resort too often to the help of a report from his own department published a week before. This fat work, entitled "Report on Human Rights Observance Practices in Various Countries in 1987," is not at all conducive to serious talk. Compiled in a confrontational spirit and painting a black-and-white picture of our multicolored world, it only adds fuel to the fire of reciprocal accusations and by no means helps to improve people's real position, wherever they may live.

For some time—to be fair, let us point out that this began even before the incumbent U.S. Administration came to power—Washington has assumed the role of life's teacher for all the peoples of the world. It assumed this role without asking whether they agreed to this or not, and without basing itself on any written or unwritten norms of international law. Washington's "teachers" are most displeased with the Soviet Union and socialist countries. While pointing out that last year "there was some weakening of government control in the leading Leninist state, the Soviet Union," the report's authors complain: "We still cannot see the light of democracy in the USSR." Just what is it that the transatlantic "rights fighters" do not like about our life? They do not like the fact that a one-party system exists in the Soviet Union with the leading role played by the Communist Party. The fact that "direct attacks on the leadership or party directives, or serious calls for the development of a political opposition... remain unattainable." Nor do they like the fact that the extensive reforms of all aspects of our life being carried out in the course of restructuring "are being implemented on the orders of the party and are mainly the product of political decisions."

In short, we do not deserve a good word because we have a different sociopolitical system from the Americans. We are bad simply because we are different. The State Department report reeks of ideological fanaticism and a refusal to see the world as the multilingual, multicolored, and contradictory place it is.

Washington's position is characterized by the practice of double standards: intolerance of our views and a refusal to admit that other peoples have the right to choose a different ideology from that prevailing in the United States. Such an approach essentially contradicts the spirit and letter of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It casts doubt on the sincerity of the U.S. Administration's statements regarding its desire for real progress in ensuring human rights.

The following fact is striking. Washington is seemingly ready for serious dialogue with Moscow on human rights. This, at any rate, is what U.S. leaders state at Soviet-U.S. talks. But their positive statements alternate with public dilations on "communist expansion," the kindling of hostility toward the Soviet Union, and attempts to interfere in our internal affairs. The recent sharp increase in the subversive nature of broadcasts to the Soviet Union by the U.S. Government radio station Voice of America, and of inflammatory broadcasts which are provokoing profound indignation among Soviet people, did not occur without official blessing. Evidently the reactionaries are frightened by the increased sympathy for the Soviet Union throughout the world and by the fact that, in the eyes of millions of people, the "enemy image" which has long served as the ideological foundation for anti-Soviet imperialist policy is collapsing.

We have something to say about the state of human rights in the United States. Many questions provoke profound anxiety in us. Even now my heart is heavy when I recall that in Washington and New York I literally had to step over people sleeping on the streets and in doorways (there are now 2-3 million homeless in America, as calculated by public organizations). I cannot help feeling an acute sense of compassion when I recall pictures of what I saw on the Indian reservations: poverty, unsanitary conditions, and almost universal unemployment (the "Redskins" addressed a petition to the United Nations accusing the authorities of a policy of

genocide with regard to America's indigenous inhabitants). The fact that women in the United States are paid less than men for the same work and that the income of the "blacks" is on average little more than 50 percent that of the whites cannot be considered just. The fact that many Negro movement activists and American Indian leaders are languishing in prison on false charges in no way accords with speeches about democracy.

Surely the fact that the United States has only ratified 6 of the 22 most important international documents on human rights speaks for itself. For this reason such basic international legal documents as the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the Convention Concerning the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide and Punishment For It are, as it were, not in force on U.S. territory.

I feel like saying to the Washington "rights fighters": Set your own house in order first. Let us work in our own countries on ensuring socioeconomic human rights and on expanding democratic freedoms, and then we will not only prove the sincerity of our speeches but will also make the most real contribution to this noble cause.

Under the conditions of restructuring and glasnost in the Soviet Union, tremendous work is being carried out to democratize all aspects of our life. In ridding itself of the deformations of the Soviet way of life which were introduced during the period of the cult of personality and the time of stagnation, socialism is emerging onto new historic frontiers of renewal and is uncovering huge potential capabilities latent within itself for satisfying most completely man's material and spiritual needs.

We say to the "teachers of life" who notice the mote in someone else's eye yet do not see the beam in their own: "Physician, heal thyself!" Cooperation in various humanitarian spheres may develop very successfully provided our opposite numbers do not get up on their soapbox and teach us their ways, considering them to be the only ones possible. We are ready to cooperate equitably on the whole spectrum of humanitarian questions and to compare frankly the real practices of the social systems in ensuring the fundamental rights of man and the conditions of his existence. Our approach to this problem is not to score points in an ideological skirmish but to honestly try to make our own contribution as far as we are able to improving life for people everywhere.

Lomeyko Comments on UN Human Rights Session
LD142317 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent V. Dmitriyev]

[Text] A session of the UN Human Rights Commission has ended in Geneva. Such sessions are held each year with the participation not only of the members of the commission—there are 43 of them—but also of observers. This year these have come from more than 70 countries. Representatives of 100 international nongovernmental organizations have also taken part in the work.

[Begin recording of V.B. Lomeyko, identified by screen caption as head of the Soviet delegation] In spite of all the attempts made by the champions of confrontation, the common sense approach of most of the session's participants to the search for agreement has triumphed. This is, perhaps, most clearly demonstrated by the fact that there were more resolutions adopted by consensus, that is, unanimously. There were more resolutions aimed at searching for positive means of cooperation. It was particularly noticeable in the way in which the Latin American countries' resolution to send a delegation to Cuba to find out about the human rights situation there was passed by consensus, that is, without a vote. This is of particular importance because for many years, attempts have been made to push the session into passing anti-Cuban resolutions. The upshot of the session is that we have all sensed a new appraoch among most of the session's participants and a new spirit of awareness of the great truth—that our world is interdependent. [end recording]

Rogachev on Relations With Asian-Pacific Region
AU141318 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, "especially dispatched for RABOTNICHESKO DELO by NOVOSTI": "Asia-Pacific Region—Regional Security Requires Collective Efforts"]

[Text] The USSR-U.S. INF Treaty is the first step toward real disarmament. Progress was noted in moving toward an agreement in such a crucial issue as reducing strategic offensive weapons. The fundamental issues related to a future universal convention on totally banning and destroying chemical weapons are also close to being agreed upon.

Unprecedented standards of sincerity and glasnost and of the scope and depth of mutual verification and control over the obligations that have been assumed have asserted themselves in the realm of disarmament. The first and fundamentally important steps toward restructuring international relations have been made.

We are sincerely interested in spreading the process of strengthening peace and security that has begun in the Asia-Pacific region. This is the goal of the USSR foreign policy comprehensive program for the countries of Asia and the Pacific outlined in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok and developed and specified during his talks in India and in his interviews for the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA and the Chinese magazine LIAOWANG.

The USSR and India are constructing their mutual relations in such a way that they are able to serve as an attractive example to other states. It was not by accident that the Delhi Declaration on cooperation in relations among countries was signed by the USSR and India precisely in India. The summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi during Gandhi's visit to the USSR, the visit of Nikolay Ryzhkov to India, and the Indian festival in the USSR and the USSR festival in India testify to the nature of USSR-Indian relations, which are characterized oy mutual respect, confidence, and sympathy.

Our relations with the socialist countries in Asia are becoming ever more diversified and dynamic. Contacts with the PRC are gradually expanding. However, there are many untapped reserves in this area. The climate of bilateral relations is changing for the better, and the sphere of mutual understanding and cooperation is expanding. Meetings and talks between leading figures of the two countries are gradually being implemented in practice, and the parliamentary exchange is growing. Political consultations are being periodically conducted, including on border issues. Mutual trade exchange is also growing.

The USSR and the PRC have many common factors in their past and, we are confident, also in their future. It is known that at present there are only two nuclear states in Asia: the USSR and the PRC. It is very important that each of them has assumed the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

We greet the statement of the Chinese leaders on the necessity of curbing the nuclear arms race and not allowing the militarization of space. Despite the fact that differences between the USSR and the PRC related to certain international issues still exist, more and more factors are emerging which create conditions for expanding cooperation between the two countries in the world arena.

Relations between the USSR and many other countries in the Asian-Pacific region, and more specifically in Southeast Asia, are successfully developing. We value the efforts of the ASEAN countries, which are aimed at protecting peace, disarmament, and reducing tension, also on regional basis. We positively value their efforts to create a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia and turn the region into a zone of peace. For our part, as the message of Mikhail Gorbachev to the 14-15 December summit of the ASEAN countries pointed out, the USSR is ready to proceed toward various forms, including collective forms of relations with these countries. This position of ours is also evoking an increasing understanding.

The USSR is following a line of activating bilateral relations with the states of the southern part of the Pacific. Our contacts with some of them, particularly in the political and economic areas, have expanded. The 1987 visit to Moscow of Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke was a major event in this context. It confirmed the mutual willingness to give new dimensions to Soviet-Australian relations, and elevate them to a new qualitative level.

It is the opinion of the Soviet side that despite the numerous difficulties, real preconditions for improving USSR-Japanese relations exist. This was confirmed by the political consultations at the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs. We consider that it is fully possible to establish a solid and mutually beneficial partnership with Japan, if the two countries strive toward this goal not with empty words but with real deeds.

The steps that have been taken recently toward solving the regional conflicts in Asia are among the positive results. Each of these conflicts has its roots, "medical history," and "remedies." The USSR unconditionally opposes linking regional conflicts with the state of USSR-U.S. relations or relations between the USSR and other countries, or linking their solution to demands of any kinds. Despite all this, the USSR is clearly in favor of regional conflicts being regulated by political means, first of all in the interest of those nations that are the victims of the conflicts.

The strengthening realism in searching for ways of solving the Cambodian problem also inspires hope. It is becoming ever more clearly understood in this region that the "knot" can be untied only by political means at the negotiating table and not by means of confrontation.

Are the proposals on national reconciliation issued by the Afghan leadership not a manifestation of the new political thinking? The Korean problem is also awaiting a solution. The USSR fully supports the initiative of the DPRK Government that the Armed Forces of the DPRK and South Korea be reduced following the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the southern part of the country.

The antinuclear mood which is gathering strength in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region is a pleasing factor. As is known, recently the southern part of the Pacific was proclaimed a nuclear-free zone (the Rarotonga Treaty). There have been many appeals for such zones to be established in Southeast Asia. The PRC has adopted a more active position on issues of nuclear disarmament.

The USSR supports the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the Asia-Pacific region and the strict observance of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. These measures contribute to stopping the nuclear arms race both in its geographical and qualitative aspects.

We are confident that the peaceful and secure development of the Asia-Pacific region depends to an overwhelming degree on the acceleration of the processes that contribute to diversifying mutually beneficial cooperation in the region. The USSR is greatly interested in developing active economic cooperation with all countries in the region.

Pact-NATO 'Mandate' Meeting Held in Vienna

LD14228 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna March 14 TASS—A regular meeting was held in Vienna today within the framework of consultations between representatives of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on working out a mandate for the talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

'International Situation—Questions and Answers'

LD120019 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 11 Mar 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program, presented by commentator Vyacheslav Lavrentyev, with political observer Nikolay Shishlin; Vladimir Pasko; commentator Igor Surguchev; Viktor Levin; and commentator Boris Andrianov]

[Excerpts] [Lavrentyev] Greetings, comrades. As always, our broadcast has been compiled on the basis of your letters, and it must be noted that of late considerably more letters have started to come in. Many people are concerned about questions of disarmament and problems of our security and international security. Questions have arisen in connection with the signing and forthcoming ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and also more general ones concerning relations between the USSR and the United States. Nikolay Shishlin, political observer, will help me reply to the range of questions I have just listed.

Nikolay Vladimirovich, war and labor veteran comrade Kurnakov, from the village of Donskoy Rudnik, Lipetsk Oblast, asks whether it is possible to use the atomic warheads from the missiles due to be eliminated, in accord with the Soviet-U.S. treaty, for peaceful purposes.

[Shishlin] Unquestionably this is possible, but each side has the right to decide independently and in a sovereign manner how it will use these warheads, either for defense purposes or in the national economy.

[Lavrentyev] Demyan Petrovich Sinyuk, from the town of Nikolayev asks—by the way, he was not satisfied with the reply to his specific question and now he asks why the Soviet-U.S. treaty prescribes an unequal number of missiles for reduction.

[Shishlin] Well, the answer to this question lies in the aim of the talks themselves. The aim was to reach a double-zero, both on intermediate-range missiles and on shorter-range missiles. As the USSR has more intermediate- and shorter-range missiles than the United States, then in order to reach zero we have to reduce and eliminate a greater number of missiles.

But I fear that this answer is not quite a complete one and that the writer of the letter will again be dissatisfied with the reply. I am referring to the following circumstance: In this case, one must understand that Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are not absolutely equivalent to U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. As far as the USSR is concerned, the U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles were and still are strategic weapons, as they can reach our territory and the territory of our allies. One cannot say this about Soviet intermediate-range missiles, as our intermediate-range missiles cannot reach the territory of the United States. I think that one should not be disheartened by arithmetic. In politics, algebra is more significant. As a result of our eliminating a considerable number of missiles—approximately 4 percent of the nuclear potential of the United States and the USSR—there will be less warheads and greater security.

[Lavrentyev] Here is another question. Comrade Gusev, from the town of Michurinsk, asks why the period of precisely 3 years was set, that is, that the missiles should be eliminated within a 3-year period, and not 3 months, say.

[Shishlin] Well, missiles are not just complicated to make but also complicated to eliminate. There is a vast amount of work here which must be very carefully monitored. To tell the truth, the period of 3 years is the minimal possible period in which to cope with the task of eliminating the missiles.

[Lavrentyev] Comrade Kuzin, a listener from Kiev asks what countries have signed the ABM Treaty. Also, what weapons, and in what quantity, does this treaty permit?

[Shishlin] The ABM Treaty bears only two signatures, those of the USSR and the United States. But, indeed, the aim of this ABM Treaty is not so much in granting permission to create some sort of weapon, as in really preventing the militarization of space, of preventing the opening of a new channel for the arms race. Therefore, the ABM Treaty has a provision that the USSR and the United States have the right to create [sozdat] only one antimissile defense system each. Such a system has been created in our country; it is around Moscow, but the United States declined to implement this idea.

I must say that the ABM Treaty is valued precisely because it shuts off the arms race from spilling out into space. It perfectly clearly sets out provisions saying that the militarization of space is not permitted. That is why it is so important to preserve this treaty.

[Lavrentyev] A question on strategic weapons. Comrade Livshas from the town of Zheleznodorozhnyy, Moscow Oblast, asks why the reduction of strategic offensive weapons must necessarily be linked with a strict observation of the ABM Treaty. Why, indeed, is it not possible to go in for a 50-percent reduction in these types of weapons without any preliminary conditions.

[Shishlin] In fact, no preliminary conditions are being set. In general, there is some sort of political logic in saying this: If we agree to reduce strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent, and in accordance with the Reykjavik ideas, we should then go on to a zero solution on strategic offensive weapons, then in this case, what arguments can there be in favor of creating some sort of space shield to guard against weapons which are being eliminated?

Therefore, the connection between the elimination of strategic offensive weapons and the nonmilitarization of space is an organic connection. Therefore, one must be concerned to ensure that the ABM Treaty should be observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and with an agreement by the sides that they will not depart from this treaty during some previously agreed period. In fact this was discussed in Washington during Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit to the United States, and the relevant accord between the CPSU Central Committee's general secretary and the U.S. President was recorded in their joint statement.

[Lavrentyev] Now, here is another questions. Have we made concessions in our approach to the issue of Star Wars? This question comes from Robert Surenovich Sagomanyan from the city of Yerevan.

[Shishlin] Well, the answer is both yes and no. It is no insofar as our principled attitude to the Star Wars program has not altered from what it was stated to be at the start. But as far as scientific research in these areas is concerned, the USSR is ready to try to come to an agreement with the United States about what must not be put into space. In essence, this refers to not taking armaments into space.

[Lavrentyev] Nikolay Vladimirovich, why has the United States not yet ratified the SALT II Treaty? This question comes from Gribinev of Gorkiy Oblast.

[Shishlin] Well, you know, I think that this question to a certain extent belongs to history. I think that now, when we are dealing with matters in order to try to draft an accord with the United States about deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons, what was fixed, the Soviet and U.S. ceilings on strategic offensive weapons in the SALT II Treaty—these ceilings should be considerably lowered. Of course, this refusal to ratify the SALT II Treaty made a rather painful imprint on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations. But I think that today this issue is losing its political topicality.

[Lavrentyev] Listener Grigoriy Sergeyevich Latyshev, war and labor veteran from the village of Korsakovo, Orel Oblast, expresses disquiet about whether the intentions of Britain and France in the 1990's to station in Western Europe a large number of new cruise missiles will affect the security of our country and our allies.

[Shishlin] I think that this is a good question; many people, of course, are wondering about this because there is a certain disharmony between what is happening in Soviet-U.S. relations—when the decision is being taken to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—while Britain and France are announcing their plans to modernize their nuclear weapons and the relevant work is being carried out.

All the same, I do not think that it is worth dramatizing this problem if only for the simple reason that, of course, the defense capacities of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact are fully sufficient to balance the military capacities of NATO. I do not see any identity between the positions of France and Britain concerning this problem. In particular, the question of so-called tactical nuclear weapons or battlefield nuclear weapons, is rather topical. Whereas London favors the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, Paris does not consider this an urgent task for today. Therefore, there are nuances in positions and nuances in approaches, but I would like to note the main point that, yes, the USSR and the United States should make the first steps, as the most powerful nuclear powers, along the path of nuclear disarmament. Then, undoubtedly, it must be the turn of the other nuclear powers, too, including Britain and France. [passage omitted]

[Lavrentyev] A number of questions from our listeners deal with Yugoslavia. Comrade Bytko from the town of Novograd-Volynskiy, asks us to speak about the "Beograd" agricultural combine and about its participation in our "Kuban" project. Comrade Serebryakov from Belostok is interested in economic ties generally between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. These queries are dealt with by my colleague Vladimir Pasko:

[Pasko] The "Beograd" agricultural combine is the largest organization in the Yugoslav agricomplex. It incorporates 43,000 people; the area cultivated is 300,000 hectares. In 1984 the combine was entrusted with planning and building the giant "Kuban" system, which was conceived as an experiment the aim of which was to rely on the most up-to-date technology to create conditions for the accelerated development of the Soviet agro-industrial complex. [passage omitted]

On Soviet-Yugoslav economic cooperation in general, I should note that our country presently receives just short of 30 percent of Yugoslav exports, and we supply more than 20 percent of its imports. Preliminary figures suggest that by the end of the current 5-year plan period, the reciprocal trade turnover should have reached $37 billion, more than twice the amount at the end of the 10th 5-year plan. We have good reason to say that a feature of Soviet-Yugoslav economic relations is their dynamic and constant growth. At the same time, experts stress that opportunities for cooperation are still very great. In saying this, they cast glances in the direction of production coordination. As yet it is restricted to Yugoslavia's part in building the "Zhiguli" motor car, sets for atomic

power stations, and walking excavators. However, press reports indicate an interest in establishing direct links in other fields, particularly shipbuilding, the printing industry, and the manufacture of means of transport. The Soviet Union's restructuring of its foreign economic links undoubtedly opens up great prospects for this.

As you know, Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia begins in the next few days. This will be the third summit meeting of Soviet and Yugoslav leaders since 1985. Practice has demonstrated that issues of economic cooperation are always discussed at such meetings. One may suppose that attention will be paid to them this time, too.

Yugoslavia's Institute of World Politics and Economics, in conjunction with the Chamber of Commerce, recently published a substantial handbook for the CEMA countries' enterprises on the potential of Yugoslav producers. In presenting the book in Moscow, (Pravulovic), the chief editor of the handbook, stressed that in the matter of Yugoslavia's cooperation with the CEMA countries, the question is not only of a quantitative growth in trade but also of an expansion of contacts and identification of new forms. [passage omitted on remarks by Surguchev, Levin, and Andrianov]

[Lavrentyev] Here is an excerpt from a letter by Comrade Ivanov from Moscow. He writes: In PRAVDA for 6 January of this year, there was an interview with a Chinese leader. It was stated in this interview that an improvement is being observed in Soviet-Chinese relations. However, three major obstacles have not been removed. Our radio listener asks if we could possibly name these obstacles.

They are the presence of a large contingent of our troops, as Beijing claims, on the Soviet-Chinese border and on the territory of Mongolia, although, as is known, we have withdrawn part of the troops both from the border and from Mongolia; the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan; and our help to Vietnam, which, according to statements by Chinese leaders, is occupying Cambodia. Our stance on these questions is quite clear-cut. The Soviet Union will not solve them at the expense of third countries. Application for these questions to be solved should be made to Ulaanbaatar, Kabul, and Hanoi.

Comrade Pivkin, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War and a resident of the town of Volsk, asks: What U.S. radio broadcasts are made to Cuba?

For several years now the so-called Radio Marti station has been beaming broadcasts to Cuba from Florida. The radio station is obviously subversive, and the material prepared is, as a rule, tendentious. Those who work for it are people who dislike the revolutionary power in Cuba. The radio station functions in the spirit of hostility and hatred toward the isle of freedom that is characteristic of the present U.S. Administration. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Carlucci Departs for Meeting With Yazov

LD142223 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 15 TASS—Today U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci departs for Switzerland to meet Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov. The meeting is to take place in Bern on March 16-17.

A press release circulated by the U.S. Defense Department says that the meeting is organized after the two sides advanced proposals on its holding. It is expected that during the meeting there will be a general discussion on military issues, including ways of avoiding dangerous military incidents, questions of military policy and doctrines, contacts between the military, issues of arms control, as well as, possibly, other questions pertaining to American-Soviet relations, reads the press release.

Yazov Flies to Bern To Meet With Carlucci

LD150920 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of defence of the USSR, flew from Moscow to Bern today for a meeting with Frank Carlucci, secretary of defence of the United States.

Yazov on Proposed Meeting

LD141728 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov and U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci will have a meeting one of these days in the Swiss city of Bern in keeping with an agreement reached earlier.

The first meeting of this kind in the history of Soviet-American relations attracts world-wide attention.

The Soviet defence minister today answered questions put by a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Question: The mass media in the West are exaggerating the sensational character of the first meeting between Soviet and American defence ministers. What, in your view, could be the practical results of the meeting? How do you think it could contribute to promoting Soviet-American dialogue?

Answer: We regard the meeting between the Soviet and U.S. defence ministers in the context of the Soviet-American dialogue, the importance of which for international security, for the destinies of peace has been generally recognized.

The joint Soviet-American statement adopted during the first summit in Geneva in November 1985 stressed that any conflict between the USSR and the United States would have disastrous consequences.

Preventing war—nuclear or conventional—between them is of principled importance. The sides pledged not to seek military superiority.

We link the forthcoming meeting with Mr Frank Carlucci with the possibility of having a substantive discussion of military-political and military-technical issues for the sake of mutual understanding and trust between the USSR and the United States.

It is planned to discuss and compare during the meeting the basic provisions of the military doctrines of the United States and the Soviet Union and consider fundamental issues of reducing and limiting armaments.

There is no aim to substitute for the official talks conducted by the foreign ministers and the delegations of the USSR and the United States at Geneva.

The goal is to facilitate the search for ways of resolving the most acute and immediate issues of strategic offensive weapons and the ABM Treaty, reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, termination of nuclear testing, prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons. We count on frank, constructive discussion.

We are prepared to discuss issues of preventing incidents between the Armed Forces of the United States and the USSR.

During the meeting we hope to exchange views on the development of contacts in the military field.

We believe that all this could further deepen Soviet-American dialogue.

Question: Are further contacts between representatives of the USSR Defence Ministry and the U.S. Department of Defence planned? If yes, than at what level and with what aims?

Answer: The answer is yes. Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, for instance, is to visit Washington this year at the invitation of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Shultz Calls on Senate To Ratify INF Treaty

LD150855 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 15 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on Monday spoke at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee where regular hearings on the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles were held.

I hold, said Shultz, that having appraised all the attending circumstances, the committee should recommend to the full Senate that it agree to the ratification of this treaty without amendments and reservations, he said. The U.S. secretary of state stated that the treaty enhanced U.S. security, adding that the benefits from the INF Treaty would be even greater if the efforts succeeded to work out a treaty on reducing strategic offensive armaments, to get a global and verifiable ban on chemical weapons and a balance in the non-nuclear armories in Europe at a lower level.

TASS Cites Reagan Speech at SDI Conference

LD150817 Moscow TASS in English 0809 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 15 TASS—TASS correspondent I. Ignatyev reports:

The United States "will move forward, when ready, with phased deployments of SDI", a large-scale anti-missile defence system with space-based elements.

These plans were unambiguously proclaimed on Monday by U.S. President Ronald Reagan in a speech at a three-day conference on the subject "SDI: The first five years" being held in the capital's Omni Shoreham Hotel. The conference, which is sponsored by the Washington-based Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis jointly with the Pentagon's 'Strategic Defence Initiative' (SDI) organization is one of major activities in the United States to influence public opinion on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the special announcement by the White House of the launching of a 'Star Wars' program. The anniversary falls due on March 23.

Addressing the zealous supporters of SDI, the implementation of which threatens with a transfer of the arms race to outer space, the U.S. President insisted that the implementation of the 'Star Wars' program should go on at full speed. He in every way extolled successes achieved by the Pentagon in this direction although, according to the UPI agency, myriads of technical matters still remain unanswered.

The President stated that the SDI was already in "the demonstration validation stage", and that the development and deployment of an initial phase of the Pentagon-contemplated multi-tier anti-missile defence system "will be undertaken in such a way that it provides a solid foundation for a continued evolution toward a fully comprehensive defense system".

According to the latest estimates made by the Pentagon itself, the development and deployment of the SDI's initial phase alone will cost the U.S. taxpayers 75-150 billion dollars. This is twice as much as the sum which was mentioned by Lieutenant-General James Abrahamsom, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative organisation at hearings in Congress only a year ago. However, as the "DEFENSE NEWS" paper close to military-industrial circles points out, the latest figures do not even include expenditures connected with the orbiting of various space-based weapons and sensors which are envisioned by a limited anti-missile defense system.

Despite such collossal defence expenditures and the talks being held in Geneva with a view to achieving an agreement on cutting by half the arsenals of the strategic weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States in the conditions of compliance with the ABM Treaty, the administration is busy piloting the SDI program through the Congress.

In his speech President Reagan described as a "serious problem" the wide-spread scepticism on the Capitol Hill with regard to the SDI and the law-makers' unwillingness fully to meet the White House requests for the funding of the 'Star Wars' program.

The President maintained that owing to congressional cuts in the requested appropriations for the SDI, the implementation of the program had been thrown one or two years back. Under the budget for the 1989 fiscal year, which is now under consideration in Congress, the administration requests five billion dollars for work under the 'Star Wars' program.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0000 GMT on 15 March transmits an identical report which adds the following final paragraph: "To justify the course Washington has adopted toward torpedoing the Soviet-U.S. treaty on restricting ABM systems, the President once more dragged out the lies fabricated by the Pentagon about the allegedly long-standing and wide-scale work underway in the USSR to create a home-grown 'Red shield.'"]

Reagan To Push for Resumption of Contra Aid

LD142246 Moscow TASS in English 2153 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 14 TASS—President Reagan intends to press for the holding this week of a new voting in the Congress on the resumption of the U.S. aid to Nicaraguan contras. Howard Baker, chief of staff of the President, said this in an interview to THE WASHINGTON POST. He said the President would be discussing this matter during a meeting with congressional leaders on Tuesday. Baker said a catastrophic situation would develop unless the aid was resumed early.

On congressional decision the U.S. aid to the contras was stopped on February 29, 1988.

Situation in Panama, U.S. Moves Viewed

PM141239 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own Correspondent V. Silantyev report: "United States-Panama: Rehearsing Intervention?"]

[Text] Mexico City—A banner headline in the Mexican newspaper ULTIMAS NOTICIAS DE EXCELSIOR reads: "Intervention Inevitable!"

The reference is to Panama. It was in those dramatic terms that Panama's Foreign Minister Jorge Abadia Arias described the situation taking shape around the country. He stated that the U.S. military maneuvers which have begun in the Panama Canal Zone signify the "prelude to armed intervention." In addition to the several thousand soldiers already stationed in the Canal Zone, the maneuvers also include other contingents of U.S. troops; namely, the 53d Infantry Brigade from Philadelphia and the 193d Brigade from Puerto Rico. The Panamanian security organs discovered that a U.S. spy ship which had been carrying out an intelligence operation in Nicaraguan waters opposite the port of Corinto suddenly appeared 5 km from the Panamanian capital. The ship is intercepting radio signals and telephone conversations in Panama.

According to Minister Abadia Arias, the maneuvers began unexpectedly without notification given in good time to the Panamanian side, which is a flagrant violation of both the spirit and the letter of the Carter-Torrijos treaty. Washington announced the beginning of the military exercises at the very last moment and did not call them off despite Panama's legitimate objections. The U.S. threats and pressure against Panama, Abadia Arias said, have been continuing for many months now with the aim of "forcing us to leave the Contadora Group and stop supporting the policy of a peaceful settlement in Central America."

Judging by admissions in the U.S. press, far-reaching plans were laid long ago in Washington. They envisage the elimination of the influence of patriotic military men and civilians and the holding next year of presidential elections to bring to power a government acceptable and loyal to Washington. It may then also be possible to revise the Carter-Torrijos treaty under which the last U.S. soldier is due to leave Panama by the end of this century.

Mexican television has been showing Panamanians shouting angry slogans of protest against the U.S. interference in their internal affairs. "Americans out of the Canal Zone!" the demonstrators chant.

Panama is now experiencing the kind of crisis which it has not known for decades.

'Possibility' of 'U.S. Intervention' in Panama

PA141644 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0200 GMT 12 Mar 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Panamanian authorities have charged that there is a possibility the United States might invade that country. The United States is threatening this developing country. Panama [words indistinct] in view of the military maneuvers that the Pentagon is carrying out in the Canal area. This alarm is justified and understandable. Washington is gradually increasing tension both within the Republic and around it. The warlike maneuvers in the Canal area could lead to the grand finale of the anti-Panamanian campaign of the United States—a military invasion.

All of this reminds us of the Hollywood gangster movies that praise brutal force. Leaving aside a movie production, we must ask ourselves if a Colt pistol and [word indistinct] have a place in the field of international relations. Unfortunately, the answer is [words indistinct].

Panama's case is not the only one affected by this. We must not forget the air raids on Libya and the bombings against Lebanon [word indistinct] Nicaragua. The threat of an intervention is the normal thing in the treatment given by the United States to the people of Sandino. U.S. Navy ships repeatedly appeared recently off the coast of Haiti. The small island of Grenada not only learned of these threats but also suffered the pain and tragedy of a Yankee aggression. October 1983—the date of the U.S. invasion in Grenada—is as sinister a date in the history of Latin America as the year 1965, when U.S. invaders stepped on the Dominican Republic's soil.

As time passes, we see there is no change in the U.S. policy. An intervention—or the threat of an invasion—continues to be on the list of methods of pressure and imposition used by Washington in its relations with small countries. However, this forceful position is today countered by the firmness of those developing countries that are defending their independence and national sovereignty. At the same time they have warned that Washington will not manage to break the spirit and morale of the Panamanian people, the Panamanian leaders have also urged the governments of all countries of the planet to redouble solidarity with Panama, which is threatened by U.S. military intervention.

China

Wu Xueqian Cited on U.S. Ties, Disarmament

PM141003 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Talks Concluded"]

[Text] Washington, 10 Mar—PRC Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, who is here on a visit, has completed his talks. He has had meetings with U.S. President R. Reagan, Secretary of State G. Shultz, and representatives of American business circles.

C. Redman, official State Department spokesman, said that Wu Xueqian's U.S. visit has "confirmed the importance which the administration attaches to U.S.-Chinese relations." "During the talks," he said, "both the American and the Chinese sides emphasized their determination to continue to develop long-term friendly relations and relations of cooperation founded on mutual interests."

The PRC foreign minister gave a news conference on Wednesday at the National Press Club, during which he touched on some problems concerning world politics and Sino-U.S. relations. In particular, he voiced his satisfaction with the Soviet-American summit meeting held in the U.S. capital last December and the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. As the minister stressed, "one can only welcome" any improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations as a result of that meeting. "We hope," he continued, "that the two nuclear powers will continue serious negotiations on disarmament issues in other areas so that there can be radical arms reduction as soon as possible."

"As far as China is concerned," Wu Xueqian noted, "as a nuclear power the PRC has no intention of shirking its responsibility in the task of achieving disarmament. China's principled stand on disarmament issues aims to promote a complete ban on nuclear arms, the elimination of those arms, and simultaneous nuclear disarmament and disarmament in conventional weapons."

Dwelling on the results of his Washington talks, the minister said they had been a success. "U.S.-Chinese relations," he said in particular, "are developing steadily. This process includes frequent exchanges of visits by the two countries' top leaders. Trade and economic cooperation have expanded considerably."

Wu Xueqian talked in detail about the reforms of the economic system and political structure in the PRC. In this connection, he urged the United States to expand economic cooperation with China, particularly by increasing capital investments in the Chinese economy. "We hope," the minister stressed, "that more and more American businessmen will invest capital in enterprises in China's open zones."

At the same time, the minister pointed out, there are still a considerable number of problems to be solved in PRC-U.S. relations. He mentioned the problem of Taiwan first and foremost. "The U.S. Administration has repeatedly said that it follows a 'one China' policy," Wu Xueqian said. "We hope that these statements will be put into practice."

National People's Congress Adopts Communique

LD121921 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 12 Mar 88

[Text] Beijing March 12 TASS—A regular session of the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress (NPC) of the sixth convocation ended here today.

The NPC Standing Committee endorsed the powers of 2,970 deputies of the National People's Congress of the seventh convocation and approved the report of the Mandate Commission on the results of the check-up of the deputies' powers, XINHUA news agency reports. A communique, which was adopted on this issue, points out that the deputies of the NPC of the new convocation "were elected, under the procedure envisaged by the law, in 31 constituencies—provinces, autonomous regions, cities under central government, the Army, etc".

It was decided to put to the consideration of the first session of the National People's Congress of the seventh convocation, to take place late this month, the draft of the session agenda, including the amendments made in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the proposal by the PRC State Council for establishing a special economic zone, Hainang, the drafts of the PRC Law on Industrial Enterprises whose property belongs to the whole people and the PRC Law on Mixed Societies based on Chinese and foreign capital.

The session approved in principle the report on the work of the standing committee of the NPC of the sixth convocation, which will be submitted to the consideration of the forthcoming NPC session after the amendments are made in it.

XINHUA points out that the agenda of the coming NPC session will also include the consideration of the draft resolution on endorsing the decision by NPC standing committee on meeting Zhao Ziyang's request to relieve him of the duties of the premier of the PRC State Council, the report by Li Peng, acting premier of the PRC State Council, on the government's work, the consideration and endorsement of the plan of the PRC socio-economic development and budget for 1988, and several other issues.

Northeast Asia

Vasilets on U.S. Handling of Toshiba Affair

LD142251 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—TASS news analyst Valentin Vasilets writes:

Gentlemen on the banks of the Potomac have strange manners. First they say untruth, then they admit it but refuse to take the next logical step, to apologise.

There was uproar in Washington some months ago. It was raised by the Pentagon which had the information that the Japanese "Toshiba Kikai" had supplied the Soviet Union with equipment which it allegedly used immediately for military purposes. According to them, the step of the Japanese company jeopardised the military power of the United States and the entire West as the West would have to spend billions of dollars to regain the ability to track Soviet submarines which were made quieter by the Japanese equipment. The Pentagon was immediately supported by congressmen and then by the White House representatives at a high official level. Washington demanded sanctions against Toshiba and the company has actually been barred from the U.S. market.

And now THE NEW YORK TIMES reports that "the Defense Department seemed to quietly change the assessment". The assistant secretary of defense said in a letter to congressional leaders that "the Soviets had quiet propellers three years before the first diversion" and that "the actual damage done from the Toshiba machinery diversions is difficult to assess". But maybe no damage at all has been done? This is logically suggested by vague explanations of the assistant secretary of defense. So that was obviously a case of much ado about nothing.

A similar case happened with Marine guards of the United States Embassy in Moscow. They were accused of admitting their Russian girlfriends into secret premises, so that the latter reported to appropriate authorities about everything they had seen there. Congressmen angrily thumped their desks, officials from the State Department admitted blunders, and the Marines were recalled and put on trial. Some time passed and the authorities announced that no girlfriends had entered any secret premises. And then were there really any girlfriends at all?

Another case of much ado about nothing. This has become a traditional ending of anti-Soviet hysterias which break out in Washington from time to time. And no apologies were again forthcoming. Both Toshiba and the U.S. Marines have become innocent victims to the unscrupulousness of some American politicians who want very much to muddy the water and to draw a favourable attention of the public to their vigilance, whereas there is no cause for either the former or the latter. So they sacrifice their gentlemanly manners.

Afanasyev, Kovalenko To Hold Talks in Tokyo
LD141639 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0932 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo, 14 Mar (TASS)—V.G. Afanasyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA, and I.I. Kovalenko, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Tokyo today at the invitation of Japanese Communists to hold consultations between the CPSU and the Japanese Communist Party.

Gusev Meets Japanese Chemical Industry Envoys
PM150925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 3 March V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Y. Komatsu, chairman of the board of the firm of Kobe Steel (Japan), and S. Kitamuru, managing director of the firm of Nissho Iwai Corporation (Japan). Questions of cooperation in the sphere of the chemical industry were discussed.

DPRK Attacks U.S. Security Plans for Olympics
LD121417 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 12 Mar 88

[Text] Pyongyang March 12 TASS—The DPRK expresses deep concern about the plans to build up U.S. military presence in South Korea under the pretext of ensuring security and preventing some "provocations" during the upcoming Summer Olympic Games. Such actions, says the announcement issued here by the Secretariat of the Committee for a Peaceful Reunification of the Homeland, would constitute a crude flouting of the ideals of the Olympic movement, an open challenge to the DPRK's efforts aimed at ensuring peace and a peaceful reunification of Korea.

The Olympic Games are no arena for a demonstration of the armed forces. They do not need warships and cannons for their holding, says the statement in connection with the Pentagon's intention to send an additional number of warships to the shores of the Korean peninsula during the Olympic Games. The USA should end its militaristic preparations and withdraw U.S. ships and nuclear weapons, the report stresses.

Sakhalin Island Residents May Visit Homeland
SK122327 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 13 Mar 88 p 1

[Text] Tokyo (YONHAP)—A top Soviet Red Cross official gave a favorable reaction to the question of Korean residents of Sakhalin Island wanting to visit their homeland, a Japanese newspaper said Saturday.

The chairman of the Soviet Red Cross told the HOKKAIDO SHIMBUN newspaper on March 4 that Soviet passports have no clause banning travel to countries which do not have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

It was a strong indication that Moscow might allow the Koreans living on the island in the Soviet Far East to visit South Korea despite the absence of diplomatic ties, the Hokkaido said.

He also said the problems involving the Seoul Olympic Games would be resolved, saying that the Soviet participation in the games symbolized the changing times, the HOKKAIDO said.

Meanwhile, an official at the Soviet Foreign Ministry said in the same interview that the Korean residents could go to South Korea via Japan.

"Although they cannot travel to South Korea directly, they can go anywhere including South Korea after their stop in Japan," the official was quoted as saying.

Saying it was his own personal view, he also said that it was their decision if they hoped to live in South Korea while in Japan, the Hokkaido said.

Yakovlev in Ulaanbaatar for Secretaries Seminar

Seen Off by Officials

LD141413 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Comrade Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow today for Ulaanbaatar on a working visit and to take part in a conference of secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties on ideological questions at the invitation of the MPRP Central Committee.

At the airport he was seen off by Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Fedorov, deputy head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee. Among the party seeing them off was Gurbadam, ambassador of Mongolia to the USSR.

Welcomed on Arrival

LD141420 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar March 14 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived here today for a working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

He will attend a conference of secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties on ideological issues.

He was welcomed at the airport by members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee of the MPRP Demchigiyn Molomjamts and Tserendashiyn Namsray, Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee Tserenpiliyn Balhaajab and other officials.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Mourning Continues for Vietnam's Pham Hung

Talyzin Arrives in Hanoi

LD141208 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1114 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Hanoi, 14 Mar (TASS)—A party and government delegation from the USSR led by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived here today to attend the funeral of Pham Hung, member of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

Among the delegation are Dmitriy Kachin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and ambassador of the USSR to the SRV, and Mikhail Smirnovskiy, deputy chief of department of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the airport, the delegation was welcomed by Dong Sy Nguyen, member of the CPV Central Committee Politburo and vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and other officials.

In the second half of the day, the Soviet delegation visited the Ba Dinh Assembly Hall, where the coffin with the body of the deceased is placed, and laid a wreath. Inscribed upon the scarlet ribbon is: "To Comrade Pham Hung, a great friend of the Soviet people, from the Party and Government delegation of the USSR."

The members of the delegation honored the memory of the eminent leader of the CPV and the Vietnamese state, a steadfast internationalist communist, with a minute of silence. An entry was made in the book of condolences, expressing on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, profound condolences to the CPV Central Committee, the SRV State Council, the SRV Council of Ministers, and the entire Vietnamese people, in conjunction with the demise of Pham Hung. Soviet people, the entry notes, value the services of Pham Hung in strengthening the fraternal friendship, firm cohesion, and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples.

The party and government delegations of Laos and Kampuchea also paid their respects to the illustrious son of Vietnam. [passage omitted]

Today the Soviet party-government delegation, led by N.V. Talyzin, met with Vo Chi Cong, member of the CPV Central Committee, chairman of the SRV State Council, and member of the Politburo; Do Muoi and Tran Xuan Bach, secretaries of the CPV Central Committee; Vo Van Kiet, member of the Politburo of the CPV Central Committee and acting chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; and Dong Sy Nguyen, member of the Politburo of the CPV Central Committee and deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, the head of the USSR delegation expressed profound condolences to the Vietnamese leaders on the occasion of the demise of Pham Hung.

A cordial, friendly talk took place during which questions of mutual interest were discussed. The two sides expressed their resolve to continue to develop and strengthen fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV, the USSR and the SRV, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Leaders Visit SRV Embassy

LD141658 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Member of the CPSU Central Committee Polktburo and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Ryzhkov, and Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers

Kamentsev and Shcherbina today visited the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Moscow in connection with the death of Pham Hung, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. They signed their names in the book of condolences.

Condolence Message Noted

BK150341 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Learning of the demise of Comrade Pham Hung, member of the CPV Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Council of Ministers have sent a message of condolence to the CPV Central Committee, the SRV Council of State and Council of Ministers, and the SRV National Assembly.

The message says: Dear comrades, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Soviet Council of Ministers, and all Soviet people express their profound condolences to the CPV Central Committee, the SRV Councils of State and Ministers, the SRV National Assembly, and the entire Vietnamese laboring people on the demise of Comrade Pham Hung, member of the CPV Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

A member of the glorious contingent of Vietnamese revolutionaries and Communists, a close comrade-in-arms of President Ho Chi Minh, and a noted leader of the CPV and the Vietnamese state, Comrade Pham Hung devoted his entire life to the Vietnamese people's struggle for national independence, freedom, and the cause of building socialism in the country. Comrade Pham Hung contributed great efforts to developing and consolidating the fraternal friendship and firm, comprehensive cooperation between the Vietnamese and Soviet fraternal parties and states.

Sharing this deep grief with the Vietnamese people, the Soviet people are determined to continue to strengthen the unbreakable friendship between the USSR and SRV. The brilliant example of Comrade Pham Hung, a genuine patriot, an unyielding international communist, and a great friend of the Soviet Union, will live forever in the Soviet people's minds.

Please convey our sincere condolences to the late chairman's family.

Near East & South Asia

Institute Opposed Afghan Involvement in 1980

PM151010 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 88 p 10

[Letter from Academician O. Bogomolov on "Readers' Letters" page: "But Who Was Mistaken?"]

[Text] A. Prokhanov's article, published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of 17 February, raised questions about the events in Afghanistan, questions that are rather late in the day. But that is not the author's fault. It is simply that for a long time the subject was closed. Only now are we beginning to discuss the circumstances, causes, and consequences of our participation in these dramatic events and trying to understand why and how the decision was made 8 years ago.

A. Prokhanov writes: "An incorrect prediction was made. Experts were wrong in their assessments of the situation in the country, mistakes were made by specialists in Islam, diplomats, politicians, the military." In this connection I would like to observe that the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, although it is not directly concerned with that region, did not remain aloof, but expressed its extremely negative attitude toward the sending of Soviet troops into Afghanistan. A memorandum sent on its own initiative to the relevant authorities on 20 January 1980 spoke of the futile and damaging nature of this action. The memorandum contained 10 points giving assessments of the situation. One of them said: "In addition to the two fronts of confrontation—in Europe against NATO and in East Asia against China—a third dangerous seat of military-political tension has arisen for us on the southern border of the USSR, in unfavorable geographical and sociopolitical conditions, where we will have to deal with the combined resources of the United States and the other NATO countries, China, Australia, the Muslim states, and the rebel army of Afghan feudal-clerical circles, who exert a very strong influence on the Afghan people. For the first time since World War II we face the possible prospect of a local military conflict in which, unlike the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts and others, we will have to wage war with our own troops." The memorandum also said that as a result of this action detente is blocked and the political preconditions for the limitation of the arms race are eliminated, there has been a significant consolidation of the anti-Soviet front of states encircling the USSR from west to east, the USSR's influence on the nonaligned movement, and especially the Muslim world, has suffered, the preconditions for the possible normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations have disappeared for a long time, and so forth.

In other memorandums and reports sent to the highest authorities much earlier, in the second half of the seventies, it was pointed out that restraint and caution must be displayed in the turbulent zone of the developing countries, in order not to jeopardize the relaxation of tension and the cause of disarmament.

O. Bogomolov, academician.

Najibullah Berates Pakistani 'Ruses' in Geneva

LD142027 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 14 TASS—President of Afghanistan Najibullah answered today a question from a BAKHTAR correspondent about the course of the Geneva talks on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

"Our compatriots now witness the course of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva", the president said. "The world public knows that the Afghan Government, manifesting good will, common sense, a sense of responsibility, realism and political courage, basing itself on the statements of the president of Afghanistan and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, took part in the Geneva talks for purposes of a prompt and successful conclusion of this process".

"The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan had a strong faith that the Pakistani Government will take a reciprocal step in the framework of the Geneva agreements and documents that have actually been formulated," the Afghan leader said. "The Afghan Government also believed that Pakistan had a responsible attitude to matters of establishing peace in the region and adhered to documents and arrangements it has been confirming itself over five and a half years with regard to peaceful and flexible political initiatives of the Republic of Afghanistan and would carry through successfully the process of the Geneva talks."

"Regrettably, the nonconstructive stand and new ruses of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan showed again that it had an irresponsible approach to the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and achievement of an atmosphere of stability in the region".

"The Pakistani authorities described the problem of the withdrawal of a limited contingent of Soviet troops and its timeframe as the sole outstanding question. Now that as a result of the constructive stand of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and of the USSR this question has been positively resolved, the Pakistani side raises other questions, also poses in a different aspect the problem of refugees' return. It is one of the agreed-upon aspects of the Geneva talks, and the documents on it have already been worked out".

"Definite circles in Islamabad and leaders of the so-called seven have once again showed interest in the destiny of refugees and have of late been saying that they cannot remain indifferent to their future upon their return to Afghanistan", Najibullah said. "Let us consider facts: Who is it that shows interest in the destiny of the refugees? Is it the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, the Pakistani authorities, or extremists in Pakistan?"

"One of the main goals of the Afghan Government was that the refugees should peacefully and worthily return to Afghanistan. It is precisely on the basis of this principle that a voluntary and peaceful return of refugees home is one of the aspects being agreed upon in Geneva."

"Realistically-minded people now arrive at the conclusion that those who do not put obstacles to the progress of the Geneva talks and sign their documents have a right to say that they are interested in the destiny of the refugees."

"We speak of this for the reason that the question of refugees was the main aspect of the Geneva talks. Our efforts have essentially been aimed at their return home, at saving them from poverty and intolerable life in Pakistan. It can be said candidly that persons who resort to ruses and who don't want the documents of the Geneva talks to be signed are actually enemies of the refugees. They do not allow refugees to return home as an inseparable part of the Afghan people."

"The refugees are equal to all citizens of the country and have all political and social rights", Afghanistan's president said. "They enjoy the protection and support of the government no matter where they live and what their political views are. The Pakistani Government unlawfully claims the right to speak on behalf of all Afghan refugees."

"I would like to make a warning to the compatriots residing abroad. They should give a serious thought to the prospects offered them by the extremists for they would bring them nothing but the abuse of the pure name of Islam for the sake of the extremists' self-seeking purposes. The extremists offer the refugees nothing but a bloodbath. They view the refugees as a reserve of the military forces to be used as cannon fodder".

"In this connection we are prepared to render very assistance to the United Nations and its services with which contacts and talks have been held these days. The Republic of Afghanistan has already taken preparatory measures for receiving large numbers of refugees. They will be given the necessary assistance from the moment they cross into the Afghan territory. This assistance will include employment in their chosen professions".

"Over the past nine or ten years, leaders of the extremist parties have been saying that the refugees will not return home until Soviet troops leave Afghanistan", the president said. "We have determined a concrete and clear road for the withdrawal of a contingent of Soviet troops which extremists and the Pakistani authorities tried to use as a pretext."

"Extremists and the Pakistani authorities have been saying that refugees do not return to Afghanistan for the reason that Islam is in danger. But under the Constitution of the Republic Islam has been proclaimed Afghanistan's religion. The Islamic Consultative Council has recently been formed at the president." [sentence as received]

"The extremists also linked the refugees staying away from home with the law on the land reform. And the new law on land and water uses guarantees the interests of all sections of land owners—medium and small, also envisages the purchase and sale of land".

"Extremists linked the fact that the refugees do not return home with the imprisonment of their relatives. But 12 thousand prisoners have been released since the policy of national reconciliation has been proclaimed".

"The question of the debts of peasants living in emigration has been discussed. The restoration of the property to repatriates has been announced. The State Committee for Refugees Affairs has been set up at a ministerial level to render undelayed assistance to refugees."

"Despite acute propaganda and the stand of extremists, despite pressure and obstacles, 120 thousand refugees have returned home as a result of the policy of national reconciliation and aid to refugees," Najibullah said.

"The events of the recent days have shown clearly that refugees have realised the honesty of the Republic of Afghanistan with regard to the solution of the situation around Afghanistan, achievement of peace within the country. Demonstrations of refugees in Islamabad, Quetta, Kurram, Bajaur in support of the Geneva talks and for early return of the refugees are a striking evidence of this fact. More than 90 percent of Afghan refugees, for whom the plight of the life in emigration has become intolerable, are prepared to return home".

"The new constitution adopted by the Loya Jirgah in 1987 has created broad democratic foundations for forming coalition bodies of power and government. Another opportunity to strengthen and widen the coalition foundations of power will emerge in the days ahead: Free elections to the national council will be held. The opposition has been granted the right to determine its representatives for every election district for the election to the supreme legislative body of the Republic of Afghanistan."

"I must stress again that the forming of the government stems from the right of people to power in the country and rests with the Afghan people alone", the Afghan leader said. "The people and state power of the Republic of Afghanistan will never agree that a government for the Afghans be formed under alien diktat".

"Only extremists rejected each of our constructive proposals to end the bloodshed and to this day refuse to respond to the call of reason and will of the Afghan people, which demands an end to the fratricidal war. Even realistically-minded groups and organizations in Pakistan noted this adventuristic stand, have been opposing and oppose it".

"I believe the agreement about an end to foreign interference, withdrawal of a limited contingent of Soviet troops and the beginning of the process of the refugees return creates a favourable opportunity for forming a coalition government on a broad base".

"Guiding itself by a sense of historic responsibility, common sense, realism and good will, the Republic of Afghanistan is prepared to start talks on the forming of a coalition government any time and in any place, in Afghanistan or abroad. The work on the formation of a coalition government has virtually been started. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan wishes to form it on a broad basis," Najibullah said in conclusion.

Progress of Afghan Reconciliation Noted
LD141708 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 14 TASS—A total of 3,400 national reconciliation commissions have been set up in this country since January 1987, a spokesman for the Central Council of the National Front of Afghanistan has said in an official report.

Besides, 2,000 standing peace Jirgahs (councils) have been formed in provinces, districts and individual localities.

Members of these commissions and jirgahs have been making headway in both central areas and on the fringes of the country. A 15-man armed group, for example, is reported to have gone to the side of the government several days ago in Khoja Sabzpush District in Faryab Province.

Also there, local elections have been held and more than 30 representatives of the people, including those who opposed the lawful government with arms in hands only a short time ago, elected to the district and regional councils.

In Khanabad District, Konduz Province, a home-guard battalion has been formed, which includes also former members of anti-government groups. Acting in cooperation with the regular army, the battalion has been protecting the peaceful work of local people.

Several thousand Afghan refugees have staged a demonstration outside the Pakistani city of Peshawar, the newspaper HAQIQAT-E SARBAZ reported. They demanded that the Pakistani Government sign agreements with Afghanistan in Geneva and remove the impediments to the Afghan refugees' return home.

The demonstrators were dispersed by Pakistani militarized units and armed members of Afghan anti-Government organizations. Hundreds of demonstrators were arrested.

An armed clash has taken place on Pakistani territory at a refugee camp near Miram Shah between camp inhabitants and armed members of the Hezb-e Islami Afghanistan group, who attempted to prevent a large group of Afghan refugees from returning home.

Navy Chief Chernavin Arrives in Tripoli

LD141937 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Tripoli March 14 TASS—Commander-in-chief of the Navy, USSR Deputy Defence Minister Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin arrived today for an official visit in the capital of the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

He was met at the airport by commander of the Libyan Navy Captain First Class al-Shakshuki.

Commentary on U.S. Closure of PLO Mission

LD141954 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—TASS commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

The decision of the U.S. Administration to close down the mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the United Nations has been sharply condemned in the Arab world. This is another step by Washington aimed at infringing on the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, at discrediting the PLO—the sole authentic representative and proven leader of the Palestinians' struggle for national self-determination, at undermining the PLO prestige. There is no doubt that this action will have most negative impact on the prospects for the Middle East settlement, in which the PLO should be a full-fledged participant.

The increased prestige of the PLO on the international arena, tens of missions it has in various countries reflect the political maturity of the organization, the realism of its policy. The PLO consistently declares for an early convocation of a plenipotentiary international conference on the Middle East, for the quest of constructive solutions to the problems existing in the region. The PLO representation to the world community was logical and absolutely justifiable against this background. It is not accidental therefore that Washington's provocative undertaking has been supported only by its ally in the anti-Arab strategic alliance, Israel.

It is characteristic that the decision to close the Palestinian mission was made just before the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir to the United States. The step taken by the U.S. administration can apparently be assessed only as [word indistinct] of support for Israel's Zionist rulers who face a massive uprising of Palestinian Arabs in the west bank of Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

The Middle East developments showed that all attempts to establish a truly durable and fair peace in the area, bypassing the Palestinians and their representative, the PLO, are doomed to failure. It is clear that any anti-Palestinian sallies jeopardise the Middle East settlement and lead to the further heightening of tension in one of troubled areas of the world.

Syrian Leader Sends Message to Gorbachev

PM151025 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev; date not given]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev!

I thank you, the CPSU Central Committee, and the friendly Soviet people for your congratulations on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, which I was very happy to receive.

It gives me pleasure, on behalf of the Syrian people, the leadership of the Ba'th Party, and myself to express profound appreciation for your high appraisal of the March 8 Revolution, Syria's role, its stance in defense of the just Arab cause, and its contribution to the struggle for peace, international security, and peoples' freedom and social progress.

We are firmly convinced that the close relations of friendship and cooperation, which are developing and expanding on the basis of the Syrian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, are in keeping with the interests of our peoples and serve the cause of peace and security throughout the world.

We highly value the support rendered by the Soviet Union to our struggle for the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel and the restoration of the Arabs' flouted rights.

I take this opportunity to wish you, esteemed Comrade Gorbachev, health and happiness, and the friendly Soviet people further success and new major achievements.

[Signed] Hafiz al-Asad

CPSU CC Greets Bangladesh CP on Anniversary

PM151017 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[CPSU Central Committee message to Communist Party of Bangladesh Central Committee; date not given]

[Text] To the Communist Party of the Bangladesh Central Committee

Dear Comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee sends you and all the country's communists cordial congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Bangladesh [CPB].

Your party, which grew up and was tempered in the struggle against imperialism and reaction and in the name of the national liberation of the Bangladeshi people, democracy, and social progress, rightly enjoys well-deserved authority in the country. Quite a few trials have befallen Bangladeshi communists, who, despite enormous difficulties and long years in the underground, have always remained devoted to the cause of the working people.

The world community is now faced more than ever before with the need to remove the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe, ensure the survival of mankind, and solve other global problems, including, in particular, the problem of establishing a new world economic order. The CPSU highly values the CPB's support for the Soviet Union's efforts to achieve those aims and ensure peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

We are linked by fraternal bonds based on devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live friendship between the CPSU and the CPB and the Soviet and Bangladeshi peoples.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Fierce' Clashes Reported in Central Angola

LD141755 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Luanda March 14 TASS—Correspondent Aleksandr Korzun writes:

Cuemba is a small settlement in the very centre of the People's Republic of Angola. In recent months it has become the scene of fierce clashes between the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) and bands of the UNITA puppet grouping which (?are on) the payroll of the American CIA and the [word indistinct] services of racist South Africa.

Sitting on the Benguela railroad this populated locality holds a special place in Pretoria's aggressive plans. The racists are trying at all cost to prevent the restoration of this road which is of vital importance not only for Angola but also for neighbouring independent countries.

The first attack on the settlement was made in the morning of January 25 but units of the Angolan Army hurled back the enemy which suffered considerable losses in manpower and materiel, journalists who visited Cuemba on Sunday were told by Captain Apren de Antonio Manuel, political commissar of FAPLA units stationed there. The enemy made repeated attempts to seize Cuemba but failed. The last battle was on March 6 during which two enemy tanks were hit and one seized. Dozens of terrorists were killed. Now FAPLA controls an area within a radius of 30 kilometres, Apren de Antonio Manuel said further.

The visiting journalists were shown arms, mines, ammunition and military trucks mostly of American and South African make that were seized from the attackers. The journalists were also shown two recently captured bandits. One of them, Cavalo Marcelino, admitted that he had undergone training under the supervision of South African instructors at UNITA's main base in Jamba and in Camp Lagoa on Angola's border with Zambia.

Operating near Cuemba now are mostly UNITA terrorists together with units of Namibians from the so called territorial force of Southwest Africa set up by the racists, the journalists were told in Cuito, the administrative center of Bie Province, by Kundi Paiama, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA Workers Party, state minister for questions of state control and inspection. There are also about 20 white mercenaries among the bandits, the minister said. He added that the tanks hit by (?fire) were manned by South Africans, that the enemy had mortars and artillery pieces and used chemical weapons.

The Pretoria regime is building up the interventionist corps in the south of Angola, Kundi Paiama said. In recent days the racists [words indistinct] reinforcements and armaments to the Evale and Mupa settlements that they have seized in Cunene Province with [words indistinct] of turning them into their strongpoints. South African planes land on the territory of Zaire on their way to Jamba, Namibia and South Africa. Instructors from South Africa and the United States are always present at the Kamina Base in Zaire.

East Europe

Further on Gorbachev Visit to SFRY

Scene, Preparations for Trip

PM151145 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 88 First Edition p 1, 6

[Dispatch by "our special correspondents" G. Vasilyev and V. Sharov: "Belgrade: On the Eve"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar—March 1988... Taking over from the short, mild Yugoslav winter, it has brought with it its usual cares and concerns. The industrial collectives are examining the results of work in the first quarter—there is still time to eliminate shortcomings and make up for what has been omitted. The grain growers have gone out into the fields. The tourist centers are coming to life. Cities and villages are sprucing themselves up. This present March has brought new color and expectations to this rhythm of working and living long since established by nature and man.

Yugoslavia and its capital are preparing for an important political event. M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, is arriving in Belgrade on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The streets and squares in the country's main city are bright with the state flags of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The press and television and radio broadcasts are describing the Soviet Union and our peoples' long-standing and fruitful ties. On the eve of the visit two books by M.S. Gorbachev—"Restructuring is the Vital Business of the People" and "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World"—have been published in Serbo- Croatian.

Today the best welder at the Split shipyard, Jure Papic, telephoned PRAVDA's Belgrade correspondents' center. About 40 dry-cargo ships and tankers have been built here to Soviet orders. This master—a veteran of the collective and a participant in Yugoslavia's national liberation struggle—has left his "signature" of fire on nearly all of them.

"My comrades and I wholeheartedly welcome M.S. Gorbachev's visit to our country," Papic said. "Yugoslav-Soviet friendship has deep roots, considerable achievements, and a good future. We are sure this March will open a new stage in our relations."

Soviet-Yugoslav friendship does indeed have a reliable and firm foundation. Our peoples' historical destinies and cultures are close. We struggled together not for life but to the death against fascism. We have common goals in development along a socialist path. The sky has not always been cloudless over Soviet-Yugoslav relations, clouds have also accumulated. But they have been dispelled by joint efforts. Acting in strict accordance with well-known principles and accords, the USSR and the SFRY are cooperating successfully in the economic field, are undertaking varied cultural exchange, and are collaborating in many decisive avenues of international politics. All this is producing mutual benefit and helping each country to overcome urgent problems of social development.

Let's take trade between our states. For many years it has been rapidly increasing. In the past 5-year plan trade turnover between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia reached $32 billion. Since 1975 the USSR has been the SFRY's main foreign trade partner. Of total Yugoslav exports, the Soviet Union receives about 40 percent of machine-building output, 70 percent of leather footwear industry items, and 20 percent of foodstuffs. At the same time, through supplies from the USSR, Yugoslavia satisfies 60 percent of the import needs of the petroleum and gas and petroleum refining and wood working industries and 30 percent of the needs of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy. As a whole the Soviet Union accounts for about 30 percent of the entire volume of Yugoslav foreign trade.

The USSR and the SFRY are cooperating in building and modernizing industrial and other establishments. Much was done in 1987. A blast furnace was commissioned at the metallurgical combine in Smederevo. In terms of its capacity—865,000 tonnes of pig iron a year—it is the second largest in the country but in terms of technical equipping and the automation of its processes it surpasses the rest. On the eve of the visit the metallurgical workers achieved a record daily productivity—2,600 tonnes, which is higher than the planned norm.

The "Toranitsa" [name as published] enrichment factory has been commissioned. Every year Yugoslavia will receive from it 600,000 tonnes of lead and zinc ore. One of us visited the "Dzherdap-2" [name as published] hydroelectric station last December when the last, eighth, unit was switched into the grid.

All three new construction sites appeared on the SFRY's economic map with the Soviet Union's assistance. In all, there are about 100 establishments in Yugoslavia created in cooperation between the two countries. They have strengthened the material and technical base of leading sectors—electricity, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the coal and petroleum refining industries, and machine building.

In turn Yugoslav organizations have taken part and are continuing to take part in the installation and modernization of about 20 establishments in the Soviet Union. They include hotels, clinics, institutes, enterprises of the light and food industries, and compressor stations on main gas pipelines. Let's mention the hotel complexes in Moscow and Dagomys and the "Kuban" agro-industrial combine. The Yugoslav press recently reported new contracts and programs. Thus SFRY construction workers have received an order to construct a 1,000-bed hotel in Moscow. Some 80 Soviet and 60 Yugoslav organizations have joined in the execution of the "Program for Scientific and Technical Cooperation and Sharing for 1986-1990."

Trade and economic relations between the USSR and the SFRY are built on a mutually advantageous and long-term basis, on trust and equality between partners. Our successes are indisputable. However, several shortcomings have appeared recently in the development of relations, in particular the volume of trade turnover has been somewhat curtailed. The Soviet Union is now experiencing a deficit in trade with Yugoslavia. The immediate reason for the difficulties which have arisen lies in the drop in prices for oil and raw material on the world market. At the same time it must be noted that the decline in prices has revealed shortcomings in the structure of Soviet exports to Yugoslavia. Fuel, raw material, semifinished material, and semimanufactures account for the bulk of these exports.

The state of economic relations has been examined at recent summit meetings, including during the official friendly visit to the USSR by an LCY delegation in December 1986. Both

sides concluded that the further development of cooperation and the solution of the problems existing here could be ensured on the paths of setting up broad production and scientific and technical sharing.

Not long before the visit we met with R. Primorac, general director of the UNIS association. This association is one of the largest in the country. Voicing the opinion of Yugoslavia's economic leaders, R. Primorac expressed himself in favor of the speediest development of Soviet-Yugoslav industrial sharing.

"Both you and we sometimes spend too long getting into the swing of things and reaching agreement; yet we must make haste—after all, time is hurrying us on," he said.

The USSR and the SFRY pay great attention to relations in the field of culture, through public organizations, creative unions, the mass media, and tourist agencies. The core of the entire complex of Soviet-Yugoslav relations is made up of international cooperation, which is strengthening with every passing year, and of constant political dialogue between the CPSU and LCY and USSR and SFRY leadership. Our interparty relations are characterized by a respectful, interested attitude toward each other's quest and experience.

The USSR and the SFRY are collaborating in the international arena. Both sides are united in their understanding that the most important task facing mankind today is the prevention of nuclear catastrophe. They are seeking a stable and just peace based on respect for each people's right to independent development and on mutually advantageous cooperation. The Soviet Union has a positive attitude toward Yugoslavia's peace initiatives. In particular the results of the meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan states held in Belgrade in late February has met with a positive assessment in our country. In turn the SFRY has repeatedly stated its support for Soviet proposals aimed at disarmament and the consolidation of security. Here the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was called historic.

Soviet people are sympathetic toward the efforts of the LCY and all working people to lead the country to new heights of development. The Yugoslav people have reason to be proud. Under the leadership of the Communist Party they have achieved major successes in their motherland's political, economic, and cultural transformation. Over the years of socialist building Yugoslavia has been transformed from an economically backward country into a developed industrial-agrarian state.

In the early eighties the situation in the SFRY was complicated. Economic development rates slowed down and labor productivity began to decline. Inflation gathered momentum. The high rise in prices reduced the population's real incomes. The number of those seeking work increased. The social stratification of society was intensified. Antisocialist, nationalist elements raised their heads. Ideological fluctuations and contradictions left their mark on spiritual life and penetrated to the party.

The 13th LCY Congress (June 1986) took place under the sign of the search for ways of overcoming the crisis phenomena. It expressed itself in favor of the vigorous and consistent implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization and the improvement and "completion" of the political system of self management and of the economic mechanism. The main prerequisite for the fulfillment of the tasks set by the congress is the intensification of the LCY's leading role and the consolidation of its unity. These questions will be the focus of attention of the LCY party conference, preparation for which has been launched everywhere. Soviet people wish the Communists and all peoples of the SFRY the successful solution of the problems facing the country and headway on the path of socialism.

Yugoslavia is giving a positive welcome to the process of restructuring and renewing all spheres of life in the Soviet Union. There is growing interest among the SFRY public in events in our country and in the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. One of us attended a meeting of workers in Split, addressed by People's Hero of Yugoslavia and Hero of Socialist Labor Ante Jurjevic, organizer of the partisan detachments in Dalmatia. He called restructuring the hope of mankind. He supported the concept of new political thinking and the efforts and initiatives of the USSR, the SFRY, and other countries opening up prospects for achieving a nuclear-free world and man's survival. After his speech the audience rose to their feet in a single impulse and the applause continued unabated for a long time.

Observers here are unanimous that the visit to the SFRY by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and his meetings and talks with the Yugoslav leaders will raise relations between our parties and peoples to a new level and will serve the interests of consolidating peace and international security.

TANJUG Commentary Cited

PM150909 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On A Firm Foundation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar—M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, will be cordially and joyfully received in Yugoslavia when he arrives here on Monday for an official friendly visit, a commentary distributed by TANJUG stresses.

The Soviet-Yugoslav top-level talks, the agency notes, will take place in conditions of the stable and developed relations between the two countries and parties. It is anticipated that the meetings in Yugoslavia will give a

powerful impetus to the further development and enrichment of those relations and cooperation as a whole. This visit and the forthcoming talks are confirmation of the principles contained in the joint documents which form the basis of relations and cooperation between the two countries and parties.

It may be stated with satisfaction today, the commentary says, that life and practice have confirmed those principles. They have passed the test of time and reflect not only the two countries' desire to overcome the difficult period in their mutual relations but also their readiness to build their relations on a firm foundation in accordance with their peoples' interests.

Both countries and parties today attach considerable attention to their domestic processes and to the prospects for further development. Yugoslavia is making efforts to stabilize its economy, overcome the crisis, and ensure the consistent implementation of socialist self-management. The Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of restructuring and the exceptionally important process of accelerating the socioeconomic and democratic transformation of the first socialist country.

Welcoming Committee Listed

AU141458 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, with wife Raisa and members of his delegation today arrived for an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium. A festive welcome was accorded to the prominent guest at Belgrade airport at Surcin. [passage omitted]

Warm welcome to the head of Soviet party was accorded by Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and then by Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The prominent guest from the Soviet Union was also greeted by Marjan Rozic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Branko Mikulic, FEC [Federal Executive Council] president; Petar Gracanin, president of the Serbian Presidency; Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia; Budimir Loncar, foreign affairs federal secretary; Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, national defense federal secretary; Aleksandar Bakocevic, Belgrade Assembly president, and other prominent Yugoslav personalities.

Accompanying the Soviet party general secretary were members of the delegation which will take part in the Yugoslav Soviet dialogue: Vadim Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary; Ivan Silayev, Central Committee member and USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; Vadim Loginov, deputy foreign minister; and other personalities. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Gorbachev acknowledged the greetings of Soviet citizens who had come to the airport to welcome him. After a short stay at the airport Mikhail Gorbachev, accompanied by his hosts, left for the White Palace at Dedinje where he will have official residence for the next 2 days.

After his arrival at the White Palace, Mikhail Gorbachev had a short conversation with Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The first official talks Mikhail Gorbachev will have will be with Lazar Mojsov with Bosko Krunic in attendance. They will open in the afternoon. As is envisaged, this will be the first opportunity for exchanging opinions about furthering relations between the two countries and parties, for finding solutions to further economic cooperation and overcoming existing trade surplus, as well as for improving cultural links and scientific-technological cooperation of the two countries. As is expected, the talks will encompass three basic topics: international relations, cooperation in Communist movement, and, naturally, the process of disarmament in Europe which has begun.

Talks With Mojsov, Others

LD151310 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Talks began in Belgrade Monday at the Federal Chamber between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the Yugoslav leadership.

On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, Lazar Mojsov, President of the Presidency of the SFRY, warmly welcomed the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. We regard your visit, he said, as a demonstration of the deep and sincere friendship of our peoples. It is opening up a qualitatively new stage in our relations, and will undoubtedly have great international significance.

The contemporary world is going through a transitional stage. It has become, as you have already said on more than one occasion, a single unit, interlinked. It must not be seen through black or rose-colored glasses. Our relations, Comrade Mojsov continued, have deep roots. They have known complex periods, but we have overcome the difficulties.

The principles contained in the joint documents of 1955 and 1956 were and still are the unchanging basis upon which we have moved forward. Our ties are multilateral. There is close cooperation between our parties, public

and political organizations, republics, towns, and enterprises. At the basis of this process there lies the historic ties of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, their sincere aspiration to strengthen friendship.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed gratitude for the kind words addressed to the Communists and the entire Soviet people, for the warmth and hospitality of the people of Belgrade. From our very first steps on the streets of Belgrade, he noted, during our meetings with the residents of the city, we sensed their attention to us. We felt warmth and cordiality in their handshakes. In reply to our words that we shall continue to travel together, shoulder to shoulder, the Belgraders responded with ardent approval.

The general secretary shared the evaluation of the present stage of relations between the two countries. He expressed confidence that the documents which will be signed during the visit will create a solid foundation for deepening Soviet-Yugoslav relations, and that they will undoubtedly have great international significance. We are prepared in developing relations with Yugoslavia to go as far as the leadership of the SFRY wants to go, stressed Comrade Gorbachev. For his part, Comrade Mojsov stated that the Yugoslav leadership is committed to the same approach, in relations with the Soviet Union, which are based on well-known principles. Developing the idea of equal rights and mutual respect, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that no one has a monopoly of the ultimate truth and no one can impose their own model. Let us study one another's experience, he said. We have the common heritage of our teachers, the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and of scientific socialism but each party puts those principles into practice taking into account the specifics of its own country, the international situation, and its obligations to its own peoples. As is well known, we are conducting restructuring for ourselves, Comrade Gorbachev continued. It grew out of our conditions, both domestic and foreign, and we are not imposing its methods on anyone, although we can see and we understand the interest in it in all countries. During restructuring we are also recalling the past and we do so to draw lessons from it so that negative phenomena will never be repeated. We know who was responsible for this and who was to blame for it. We have spoken of this frankly. Much was done to normalize Soviet-Yugoslav relations by Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev and Josip Broz Tito. This was a far-sighted step. It is important that on the basis of the principles worked out, it is possible not only to normalize our relations but also to go considerably further.

The Soviet leader reported the progress of restructuring and the results of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. Fervent debates are underway in our party and in society, the general secretary said. We see this as a normal state of affairs. There are, of course, some who perceive the novelty of and the innovative nature of restructuring as the undermining of socialism. There is no doubt that glasnost and democratization must not be used for demagogy. That is clear. Soviet people have already learned to make responsible judgments of the processes taking place. We believe ideological provision is now one of the central issues of restructuring. Before us is the 19th All-Union Party Conference. This will sum up the results of the work done since the 27th CPSU Congress but, most important, will examine issues of developing democracy. Effectively, we are talking about setting out the guidelines for reconstructing our political system and this, of course, must entail a rethinking of the party's role and its methods of struggle. Here too we shall be acting on the basis of Leninist tenets on the level of increasing its significance as the political vanguard of society.

During the talks, there was a detailed exchange of views on a wide range of international issues, including the problems of disarmament, global problems, disarmament for development, and the situation in the Balkan Peninsula. Comrade Mojsov stated that the SFRY is decidedly in favor of freeing the world of nuclear weapons. It is now clear that there is no place in the world for nuclear deterrence or nuclear retribution, he noted. The Yugoslav leader provided information on the meeting of the Balkan states' foreign ministers, and on the creation of a zone of peace and cooperation in the Balkans. Yugoslavia supports the peaceful solution of regional problems, and resolutely supports Comrade Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan. It is in favor of convening a peace conference on the Near East.

During discussion of matters relating to the Nonaligned Movement—one of whose organizers is Yugoslavia—Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed that this movement is growing in importance. Evidence of this is the outcome of the Harare meeting. The conference adopted clear and principled stances on many points, particularly on problems of disarmament in favor of development. There is a realization that, unless we halt the arms race, we shall not resolve the problems of development. It is the opinion of many millions of people that the Nonaligned Movement has a great role to play in restructuring international relations. Unfortunately, the capitalist countries are backing off from joint discussion of these matters and are attempting to get away with palliatives.

We have no intention of disrupting the economic ties that have evolved. That would be an escapade rather than a policy. But the interests of the developing countries, including the aligned [as heard] countries, must be considered. That is number one. Second, we will do everything to ensure the train of disarmament does not stop. At present the ruling circles in some capitalist countries are trying to restrain the process of understanding the need for restructuring in international relations and to preserve the old ways. At the same time, the forces of realism are strengthening, the forces that reflect the opinion of peoples tired of the arms race. A search is under way for means of changing the old-style politics. The role of personalities in science and culture is important to this process. At one time the call was current for

scientists and cultural figures to stand apart from politics. But today we can see that they are active in protesting the arms race, for an improvement in the international atmpsophere, and for global problems to be resolved on the basis of common human values.

We, said Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, will operat. at all international forums and congresses to achieve the elimination of nuclear and conventional weapons and the scrapping of chemical weapons.

Certain persons in the West are unfortunately trying to retreat from solving these problems and to replace them with talk about modernization, upgrading of weapons, compensation, and so on. Contemporary international realities require different thinking. In this context it was stressed that the evaluation of the contemporary world by the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia coincides. Their policies on the international scene coincide or are close.

There was a discussion of questions of economic cooperation between the USSR and SFRY. Emphasis was placed on the need for a changeover to new forms of cooperation, specialization and coordination, the creation of joint enterprises. Restructuring in the USSR, said Comrade Gorbachev, is opening new opportunities on this road.

Taking part in the talks were Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary; Silayev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Mikulic, SFRY's Federal Executive Council president; Zemljaric, Federal Executive Council vice president; Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and other officials.

Before the talks began, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev replied to questions from journalists.

15 March Schedule

LD150833 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0052 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav party presidency President Bosko Krunic and general secretary of the Soviet party Mikhail Gorbachev will confer here today about the two parties' relations and about the situation in the international workers' movement. Krunic and Gorbachev, as is expected, are to exchange views [words indistinct] on the internal political ideological developments in the two countries.

Before the talks begin, Mikhail Gorbachev will lay flowers at the grave of Josip Broz Tito and plant a tree of peace in the Park of Friendship.

During the day, Gorbachev will tour the Ivo Lola Ribar factory in Belgrade for talks with managers and workers of what is one of Yugoslavia's mammoth enterprises, and with representatives of its socio-political organizations.

In the evening, the presidencies of the Yugoslav state and party are giving a dinner to honour Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa.

Belgrade Exhibition Features Gorbachev Books

PM141217 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Sharov report: "Restructuring Is Main Theme"]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar—Two books by M.S. Gorbachev: "Restructuring is the People's Vital Concern" [Perestroyka—Krovnoye Delo Naroda] and "Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World" [Perestroyka i Novoye Myshleniye Dlya Nashey Strany i Dlya Vsego Mira] published in Serbo-Croatian are on display at Belgrade's International Press Center.

There is enormous interest in Yugoslavia in events in the USSR and the revolutionary renewal of all spheres of sociopolitical and economic life. Responding to numerous requests, six Yugoslav publishing houses together with the help of the Soviet "Progress" Publishing House, have published these books by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary within a very short time. They were presented to the packed hall by B. Muzevic, LCY Central Committee Presidium executive secretary.

A Soviet exhibition entitled "Restructuring" has opened in the center of the capital. It features around 1,500 books—sociopolitical, scientific, technical, and artistic literature, and guide books. Publications on the subject of restructuring have pride of place. A separate section is made up of art photographs of Soviet life. There is a stand where photographs will be updated daily during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the SFRY. In the first few hours after opening the exhibition was visited by hundreds of Belgraders.

Further on Polish Parliamentarians' Visit

PM150923 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] On 4 March P.N. Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium first deputy chairman, had a meeting in the Kremlin with a delegation from the Polish Sejm Economic Planning, Budget, and Finances Commission led by its chairman, J. Kaczmarek.

The sides held a fruitful exchange of opinions on ways to make the most rational use of economic and financial levers to improve production efficiency and accelerate scientific and technical progress. Both sides noted the greater role now played by organs of state power and standing commissions in the improvement of planning and the implementation of economic reform.

J. Kaczmarek expressed his appreciation for the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union. He said that the members of the delegation are deeply satisfied with the results of the visit and the opportunity to become acquainted with Soviet experience in restructuring tasks. He emphasized the need to strengthen cooperation between the two countries' parliaments.

T.N. Menteshashvili, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, and W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

On the same day the delegation had a conversation with members of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' Budget and Planning Commissions. N.I. Maslennikov, Soviet of Nationalities' Budget and Planning Commission chairman and RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, talked about the work of these commissions.

The delegation left Moscow on 5 March. It was in our country on a visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' Budget and Planning Commissions.

The delegation was accompanied to the airport by N.I. Maslennikov and other officials.

Communique of Honecker-Jakes Talks Reviewed

PM141223 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Important Initiatives"]

[Text] Berlin, 10 Mar—The GDR and Czechoslovakia are extremely interested in the consistent implementation of the disarmament process, for which the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles opened up new prospects. This was stated in a communique on the results of the meeting held here today between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary.

To continue the disarmament process, the document stresses, it is extremely important to ensure the speedy conclusion of an agreement on 50-percent cuts in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms with strict observance of the provisions of the ABM Treaty. The GDR and the CSSR will continue to promote the development of international relations in the direction of greater confidence through the active pursuit of a policy of dialogue and cooperation with their allies and by making new initiatives of their own aimed at easing tension at the junction between the two social systems. In this connection the sides stressed the topicality and usefulness of the GDR-CSSR joint proposals to create a corridor in Central Europe free of nuclear weapons and a chemical weapons-free zone.

E. Honecker welcomed the CSSR's initiative on setting up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the dividing line between the two military blocs. M. Jakes supported the GDR proposal to convene an international meeting in Berlin this June on questions of nuclear-free zones. Both sides stressed that the reliability of borders and the strict observance of territorial divisions must be unconditional components of stable peace and good-neighborly relations in Europe.

Both leaders expressed confidence that the creative approach and innovative action of the fraternal countries' Communist parties in the process of socialist building will strengthen socialism and make world peace more stable. The political stability and successful development of the GDR and the CSSR and their comprehensive cooperation represent a major contribution to this task. The leaders discussed proposals aimed at deepening each side's cooperation and specialization in the sphere of science and production.

West Europe

Falin on Gorbachev-Kohl Meeting, Relations

DW150835 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0618 GMT 14 Mar 88

["Excerpts" from interview with Valentin Falin, chief editor of the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI, by Hans Guenter Pianka; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Pianka] What made it so difficult to agree on the visits? Was the problem too many appointments?

[Falin] Yes, that was the problem. Mr Gorbachev has many appointments this year. To try to find enough time for such visits and for the negotiations connected with such visits is a problem in itself for the general secretary. But there are certainly a number of other considerations that may also have played a role. Our relations with the FRG in recent years have not always been as we would have liked them to be and as you probably also would have liked them to be. The time is ripe for change, and the atmospher justifies change. The fact that Kohl's visit to Mosco. and Gorbachev's return visit to Bonn have been fixed by the two politicians means, I think, that both sides see good prospects and a green light.

[Pianka] You are one of party leader Gorbachev's closest advisors, in particular regarding relations with the FRG. In your view, what does Gorbachev consider the most important aspect of the talks? Why is it particularly necessary to improve German-Soviet relations?

[Falin] I think I can say that Mr Gorbachev understands probably better than many others the Federal Republic's real political role in Europe and the world and thus also the significance of relations between our two countries. I specifically mentioned the political dimension intentionally, not accidentally, because the economic dimension and the scientific-technological dimension as such are

clear and do not require any explanation. How things in Europe will develop depends today on the FRG, as it has in the past as well. It depends on the FRG whether they will improve, or whether there will be ups and downs, or whether there will be complications that in the final analysis—and we have to say it quite clearly—will serve neither your country's long-term interests, nor the Soviet Union's, nor those of any other country. We assume that time is pressing and that a clear decision has to be made that takes reality into account and is oriented toward a future that is optimal for your country and ours.

[Pianka] Gorbachev has been in office for 3 years, 3 years that have been marked worldwide by the terms perestroyka and glasnost. To what extent do efforts made by the Soviet Government for restructuring—perestroyka—and more openness—glasnost—give the government room, time, and the opportunity to work in the foreign policy field? Is the way clear at all for such tasks?

[Falin] I think that in his efforts to modernize our country and renew our foreign and domestic policies, Mikhail Gorbachev has the solid backing of the party and the overwhelming majority of the people. That means that the speculation we hear occasionally in the West is totally unfounded. I am sure we are at the beginning of perstroyka, not at the end of that process. I am sure, and you may also be sure, that it is not a provisional or temporary decision. It is a long-term strategic decision. This revolution will last not only to the end of this century but will continue into the next millennium.

We do not intend to repeat the mistakes we have often made in the past—a step forward, followed by two steps back. We have but one option—forward. We really want democracy to become the people's power, the people's administration, and self-administration in the full sense of the word. I hope we will succeed sooner rather than later. Large reserves exist in that respect in our country and in society. It only depends on whether we develop the ability to make those reserves effectively serve the people's interests, the interests of social justice and social security. We hope we are now well on the road toward that goal.

[Pianka] If we consider the current unrest in Azerbaijan, has a process not been started that in a multinational state like the Soviet Union might thwart the efforts made by the government and the party to introduce glasnost and perestroyka?

[Falin] I do not think so. If I had to draw conclusions from the recent events and ask myself whether those processes would slow down or accelerate perestroyka, my answer would definitively be: Accelerate. A complicated country like the Soviet Union which has so many nationalities certainly has its own specific problems. We denied that in the past, but we now see that problem clearly, and we will master it.

'Lance' Policy Shows FRG's 'Inconsistency'

PM141237 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Condemning 'Modernization'"]

[Text] Bonn, 7 Mar—K. Schacht, press spokesman of the German Communist Party Board, has criticized in Bonn the decisions of the NATO Council's Brussels session. He pointed out that FRG Chancellor H. Kohl set forth Bonn's well-known position at the session, according to which "there is no need at present to decide the problem of 'modernizing' shorter-range missiles." K. Schacht pointed to the Federal Government's inconsistency and lack of logic on this question. While advocating that the question of the modernization of Lance missiles be left open for the time being, at the same time Bonn does not object to the modernization of other nuclear systems, particularly nuclear artillery.

As E. Bahr, a prominent Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] figure, emphasized in the bulletin PARLAMENTARISCH-POLITISCHER PRESSDIENST, the very concept of "modernization" is a deception of public opinion, because it means not improving the old system but creating a totally new one. Can the replacement of an old model of a little Volkswagen by a new Mercedes 300 really be called modernization? The only thing they have common is four wheels. The same could be said of the Lance missiles and the new systems which might replace them: The only thing they will have in common is the fact that both are called ballistic missiles. Otherwise, it is a question of a totally new system of missile weapons with a considerably greater range.

The Bonn leadership failed to secure the adoption of a joint bloc concept on questions of disarmament and arms control, SPD Chairman H.-J. Vogel pointed out in addressing a session of the party presidium. Social Democrats, he said, advocate the achievement of stability in Europe in the sphere of conventional arms and a "zero option" providing for the elimination of shorter-range nuclear missiles and battlefield weapons. But the Lance missile modernization plans are nothing but an attempt to create qualitatively new arms.

Tolkunov, Delegation Begin Talks in Rome

LD142107 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Rome March 14 TASS—A Soviet parliamentary delegation, led by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR, has begun its first official meetings in Rome today. The delegation is in Italy on an official visit at the invitation of the Parliamentary Group of Italy.

The Soviet delegation had a talk with president of the Chamber of Deputies of Italy's Parliament, Leonilde Iotti. The sides stressed the need of stepping up and broadening

contacts through the parliamentary groups of both countries and permanent parliamentary commissions of the supreme legislative bodies of the USSR and Italy.

The two sides underlined the usefulness of parliamentary relations for comparing and exchanging opinions on the most topical problems of Soviet-Italian relations and international politics as a whole.

Meet With Andreotti, Cossiga

LD142111 Moscow TASS in English 1952 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Rome March 14 TASS—A Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by the chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group Lev Tolkunov, now on an official visit here, had a meeting today with Giulio Andreotti, foreign minister and chairman of the Italian Parliamentary Group.

The minister said that relations between the parliaments of the two countries were acquiring a particular importance in present-day conditions because they create conditions for a frank dialogue between those whom the people have entrusted to represent them in bodies of power. Touching on the question of the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles he stressed the historic importance of this most important international agreement which opens the road for further steps to lower military confrontation, to a fifty per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms, the prohibition of chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional arms.

Lev Tolkunov stressed that the road to today's agreements was opened by the statement made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986 and by the practical steps to implement it that were taken by the Soviet side. All our actions in the international arena are based on the idea of mankind's survival, of saving it from the danger of nuclear catastrophe and creating an all-embracing system of international peace and security, the head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation said.

Lev Tolkunov and the other members of the delegation outlined the main elements of the Soviet approach to solving problems of disarmament and regional conflicts in the world.

Also today the Soviet parliamentary delegation was received by the President of Italy Francesco Cossiga. He noted that foreign policy is a sphere of activity not only of states but also of peoples. He stressed the big interest with which the development of the East-West dialogue is followed in Italy, as well as the present processes in the Soviet Union.

The president of Italy expressed his confidence that the tendencies towards detente that are taking shape in relations between the USSR and the United States, between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation will help improve the international situation and impart to it a calmer and more stable nature. President Cossiga declared in favour of further advance along the road of disarmament in conditions of strict observance of the security interests of every state.

On their part Lev Tolkunov and the members of the Soviet delegation informed the Italian president about the Soviet Union's initiatives in the field of disarmament and the strengthening of international security, about the main tasks and the course of perestroyka in the Soviet Union.

Latin America & Caribbean

Dobrynin Talks With Nicaraguan Front Official

LD142109 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—At the CPSU Central Committee there was a meeting today between Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Karen Brutents, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, on the one side, and a delegation of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua (FSLN) led by Bayardo Arce, vice coordinator of the Executive Commission of the FSLN national leadership, on the other.

During the meeting held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the sides discussed issues of developing further Soviet-Nicaraguan relations and cooperation between the CPSU and the FSLN.

Bayardo Arce described the main areas of the FSLN's activities under the conditions of the continued war waged against the Nicaraguan people by counter-revolutionary groups knocked together and armed by the USA. He pointed to the FSLN's determination to defend the gains of the Sandinist Revolution, its basic principles and to exert efforts in future too for the sake of reaching a just political settlement in Central America on the basis of strict fulfilment of the Guatemalan agreements.

The CPSU representatives declared the invariable support for the struggle of Nicaragua for freedom and independence, its constructive moves, as well as efforts of the Contadora Group and other Latin American countries, aimed at a peaceful settlement of the conflict situation in the region, with strict observance of the right of any nation to its own social and political choice.

A plan of cooperation between the CPSU and the FSLN was signed at the meeting.

Arce Meets With Kamentsev

PA150235 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received FSLN Deputy Coordinator Bayardo Arce Castano in Moscow today.

During the meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and confidence, the two sides addressed matters related to cooperation between the two countries and prospects for its further development, it was officially reported.

Arce, who arrived in Moscow yesterday on a 2-day official visit, heads a delegation composed of Planning Minister Dionisio Marenco and FSLN finance chief Samuel Santos, among others. Ernesto Castillo Martinez, Nicaraguan ambassador to the USSR, also attended the meeting.

Mexican Ambassador Completes Moscow Tour

Received by Gromyko

LD112250 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 11 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin today the Mexican Ambassador in the USSR Horacio Flores de la Pena in connection with his forthcoming departure from the Soviet Union on completion of his tour of duty.

Satisfaction with the traditionally friendly nature of relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico was expressed during the conversation. These relations are based on principles of mutual respect, equality and trust.

During their exchange of views Andrey Gromyko and Horacio Flores de la Pena especially stressed the need for all states to continue efforts directed at removing the nuclear threat, radically reducing and liquidating all types of weapons of mass destruction and creating a comprehensive system of international security.

The mutual conviction was expressed that the speediest political settlement of regional conflicts, including in Central America, would do much to improve the international climate.

"Mexico's role in supporting the Contadora process is highly valued by the Soviet Union", Andrey Gromyko said.

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD121715 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 12 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, received Horacio Flores de la Pena, ambassador of the United Mexican States to the USSR, in connection with his departure for Mexico.

During the talk the sides expressed mutual satisfaction with the progressive development of Soviet-Mexican relations in the political and other spheres. Horacio Flores de la Pena pointed out that Mexico hails and backs the Soviet Union's course for radical improvement of the international climate, elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons, democratization of the entire system of inter-government relations on the basis of the new political thinking.

The sides stated concurrence of viewpoints of importance of achieving progress in a Latin American solution of the problem of a political settlement in Central America within the scope of national reconciliation on the basis of strict observance of international legal rules, above all the sovereign right of every nation to an independent choice of a road for its development.

Brazil's Sarney Sends Gorbachev 'Personal' Note

LD112253 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 11 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 11 March (TASS)—Today a personal message from J. Sarney, president of Brazil, to be conveyed to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was handed over to Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by the well-known Brazilian public figure and actress (D. Sfat).

R.M. Sardenberg, Brazil's ambassador to the USSR, was present at the handing over of the message.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Armenia, Azerbaijan Issue

Situation 'Back to Normal'

PM150917 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 1 Mar 88 p 1

[ARMENPRESS report: "Situation Back to Normal"]

[Text] A routine meeting with representatives of the mass media has been held at the Armenian SSR MVD. Deputy Minister G. Marutyan reported that the operational situation in the republic connected with the events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh were basically back to normal. The crime level is not out of the ordinary. There has not been a single incident registered on the Yerevan section of the Transcaucasian Railroad. Road transport is running normally.

Normal work has resumed at industrial enterprises and construction sites. Workers and specialists are making efforts to ensure that the lost ground is made up in the first few days in March and that production plans, socialist pledges, and targets for deliveries to fraternal republics are met.

Students and pupils at technical colleges have started classes. Lessons in general education schools suspended as a preventive measure against the influenza epidemic have started in a well-organized way.

Law-enforcement agencies are continuing to carry out their duty to maintain public order.

Writers Comment

LD012259 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by N. Shakhova from the USSR Union of Writers Congress in Moscow]

[Excerpts] A plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Writers started work in Moscow today. [passage omitted] Soviet patriotism is one of the greatest gains of the revolution and one of our greatest values. The word of the writer plays a great role here, as well as his political maturity, his understanding of what constitutes true internationalism.

Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Union of Writers Board, gave a report. He analyzed the work of writers' organizations and present trends in the development of multinational literature. The attention paid to disseminating the literature of the USSR's fraternal peoples and to issues of internationalist education, the creative mutual enrichment of the cultures, has been intensified. Quite a lot has been done in that field, but much more still lies ahead. Today, I talked to writers of different generations. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording of Shakhova interview with Ovanesyan, first secretary of the Armenian Writers' Union, identified by screen caption] Rakhiya Karapetovich, we have recently been following—reading with alarm and anxiety—reports by TASS correspondents concerning the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and we note the great weight of the writer's word.

[Ovanesyan] Such events, such states of mind so to speak, cannot be resolved en masse overnight, what with passions, so to speak, and emotions running high, and so forth. And in that respect, the address by Comrade Gorbachev to the peoples of Transcaucasia, that is, Azerbaijan and Armenia, has arrived right in time, and it has performed its great role. That is, people have calmed down, people have resumed work; we have always been friends with our perennial neighbor, we have always been friends—not only in literature, but in life, through necessity, so to speak. [end recording]

[Begin recording of comments by Anar, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Union of Writers Board, identified by screen caption] And this is precisely where I think our, writers' responsibility doubles and triples, so that we are able to explain to our peoples that they have joint strategic interests. I believe that we must work to make it clear to young people. What is national isolation, aloofness? That is the desire to be, metaphorically speaking, a lonely tree in the desert. And internationalism is the desire to be a tree in the forest with one's own leaves, fruits, bark and roots, but at the same time surrounded by other trees, when you breathe the same air and purify that air. I would use that metaphor regarding our peoples, the relations of our nationalities, to which our plenum today, incidentally, is devoted. In any case, I regard them with optimism. [end recording]

Leaders Tour Enterprises

PM151309 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 1

[AZERINFORM report: "Taking a Stand of Internationalism and Friendship Between Peoples"]

[Text] During their visit to the Azerbaijan SSR, G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited the "Bakkonditsioner" Production Association, the Baku Deep-Sea Stationary Foundations Plant, maritime enterprises under the N. Narimanov Oil and Gas Extracting Administration, the "Mamedli" Sovkhoz, the "Zeytun" Agrofirm, and trade, public catering, and consumer services enterprises. They were acquainted with production operations, visited shops, talked with workers and engineering and technical workers, and took an interest in their living and working conditions and the

ways in which labor collectives are making use of the rights given them by the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) in solving economic and social issues.

During the conversations the working people of these multi-ethnic collectives unanimously approved of M.S. Gorbachev's Address to the Working People and to the Peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. They emphasized that the present complex problems must be solved calmly, within the bounds of the democratic process and the law, without causing the slightest damage to our peoples' internationalist unity, and that these most serious issues must not be left to the mercy of uncontrolled emotions [nelzya otdavat seryezneyshiye voprosy vo vlast stikhii i emotsiy]. Socialist internationalism and the real fraternity and unity of the Soviet peoples are the source of our enormous strength.

The people of Baku said that they are determined to do their utmost to strengthen the traditions of friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. This is the only approach that is in the real interests of all the Soviet peoples and is conducive to the success of the revolutionary restructuring processes which have been developed throughout the country. The participants in the conversations gave their assurances that the working people of Baku—a city of glorious international traditions—will continue to remain loyal to these traditions, will demonstrate their civic maturity and tenacity, strengthen friendship and fraternity between the Soviet peoples through real action, and make a worthy contribution to the task of restructuring.

Meetings were also held with lecturers and students at the Azerbaijan S.M. Kirov State University, science workers at Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences institutes, and workers at medical and cultural institutions.

G.P. Razumovskiy and P.N. Demichev had conversations with the following: P.A. Azizbekova, academician at the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Museum of the History of Azerbaijan; R.S. Gadzhiyev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Composers Union Board, USSR People's Artiste, and a deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet; D.P. Guliyev, director of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History and deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet; Dzh. B. Guliyev, vice president of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences and deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet; writer M.I. Ibragimbekov, chairman of the Republic Committee for the Defense of Peace and deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet; G.A. Madatov, corresponding member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences; Professor N.M. Rzayev, an honored scientist in the Azerbaijan SSR; and A.S. Sumbatzade, academician at the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences. During the meetings people noted the important role played by the Soviet intelligentsia in the restructuring processes, the spiritual renewal of society, the international education of the working people, and the task of strengthening fraternal friendship between the Soviet peoples.

Portugalov on Press Coverage

AU141118 Vienna Television Service in German 0900 GMT 13 Mar 88

[Panel discussion in the "Oststudio" television series hosted by Austrian journalist Paul Lendvai with participants Alfred Cattani, deputy chief editor of NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG; Nikolay Portugalov, journalist and CPSU Central Committee staff member; Dieter Schroeder, chief editor of SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG; and Tamas Kocsis, chief editor of KEPES HET, in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Schroeder] I would like to ask Mr Portugalov a question. You have said that glasnost must not be measured with Western yardsticks and actually this is what I understood from statements by your general secretary, who once defined glasnost by saying that this process of democratization is, above all, to serve socialism. This leads to the conclusion that there are limits to glasnost. My question now is: How free are you in reality? Where are the limits? Are you told by someone where the limits are or can you decide yourself where the limits are?

[Portugalov] Well, you know, where concepts are missing one has to make do with words. What does one mean by limits and freedom? I think we should not start a philosophical discussion on this—this would take a whole evening. The limits of our socialist free press are determined by the journalist's feeling of responsibility, in the same way as here in the West. But, based on our structures, our feeling of responsibility is slightly different. Let me give an example: Permit me to anticipate your next question, or perhaps that of Mr Cattani—I am quite sure that this question will be asked.

[Lendvai] Do not anticipate all the questions, we also have to give Cattani a chance to ask questions.

[Portugalov] Yes, of course. But this question will certainly be asked. Why have we kept quiet about the incidents in Armenia, in Yerevan, about the people's demonstrations and rallies? Because of our feeling of responsibility, Mr Schroeder. We have in no way hindered the Western colleagues from acquiring their information through many different channels and from exploiting all available sources. We have kept quiet simply to avoid negatively influencing the people's excited feelings and not to add fuel to the fire. This is an example. Of course, you can interpret it in another way, but you will probably recognize the integrity of these motives. [passage omitted]

[Schroeder] May I come back to this problem once more, Mr Portugalov, and again pose it as a question? You say you did not want to add fuel to the fire, but the fire exists. Would it not be conceivable that there would be

less fire, if there were a free press in Azerbaijan and in Armenia, which could express the problems of the two ethnic groups and thus function as a valve for releasing steam?

[Portugalov] I could have found an easy answer, my dear colleague. I could have said in the (?East) there is not free press according to Western standards. But in this specific case I still stick to my opinion that in view of the temperamental Caucasians and the heritage we are facing, which is mostly guilt that has not been come to terms with and has rather been pushed aside, and in this situation and under these ethnic circumstances—you know this, Kueppers of the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG has written extensively about this—it was, in our view—and, by God, we know how to handle these things—better to let the excitement calm down first. With regard to free press: You say that if there were a free press in Armenia and Azerbaijan—not free press according to Western concepts, because in particular now I consider the Armenian press to be indeed free—thus, you say that if there were a free press according to Western standards it would have been different. I do not think so. [passage omitted]

I would like to add one more thing: Since in our democratic structure, which is also undergoing changes, we have practically no political opposition, the press—the free socialist press that has to be shaped in a new way—should have not necessarily an oppositional function but a controlling function. [passage omitted]

Armenians Demonstrate in Moscow

LD131141 Hamburg DPA in German 1115 GMT 13 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Some 200 Armenians demonstrated on Sunday at the Armenian cemetery in Moscow and commemorated the victims of the unrest in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan. They held placards calling for the "restitution of historical justice" and "explanation of the genocide". During the unrest, according to civil rights activist circles, more than 300 persons were killed. According to official figures, the number of victims was 32. The Armenians are calling for the incorporation of the region of Nagorno-Karabakh, which lies in Azerbaijan.

Most speakers called for consideration and restraint. Demonstrations are not planned for the moment. The spokesman for an organization committee expressly praised the reform policy of Soviet Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Several speakers called for better organization of Armenians in Moscow and in Yerevan. Several dozen police and plain-clothes officers stood in readiness near the cemetery. [passage omitted]

Russians Support Armenians

AU141456 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 14 Mar 88 p 4

[Friedrich Kargan report: "Moscow: Autonomous Leftists Support Armenians"]

[Text] Moscow—The Armenian popular movement for Karabakh is gaining support also in other parts of the Soviet Union. In Moscow the "Federation of Socialist Clubs," a collection of independent leftist groups, is backing the Armenians' main demand: unification of Karabakh Province with the Armenian SSR and expansion of the reform policy to the nationality question. In a flier that was distributed in some Moscow streets and in front of the subway stations, the "Socialists Clubs" particularly stress the progressive character of the Armenian movement.

It is hard to estimate how many activists and members of independent groups in Moscow stand behind the declaration of solidarity. The "Federation of Socialist Clubs" was founded last summer together with other nonparty groups of different orientations.

The events in Armenia and Azerbaijan have provided a new impetus to the Soviet dissident movement. Because of the news blackout in the official media, the uncensored samizdat papers have again become the most important source of information.

The independent clubs see the emergence of a movement in Armenia whose strength is obviously based on the large number of basic committees. In the view of the "Socialist Clubs," the Armenian conflict has a dual political significance for the entire Soviet Union. It again shows the need for a "socialist and democratic federalism" in the Soviet multination state. This is a deliberate reference to a formula by Lenin, who in the twenties advocated far-reaching national rights before Stalin was to liquidate a large part of the national elite and declare the nationality problems "solved."

In the view of the "Socialist Clubs," the Armenian question has also become the subject of a decisive conflict between advocates and adversaries of perestroyka. "Conservative forces use incorrect rumors about unrest to discredit the reform policy as a whole," the flier says, "and the official media support this by keeping silent about the actual events."

On Sunday [13 March] almost 1,000 Armenians demonstrated for the reunification of the Karabakh region with Armenia at the Armenian cemetery in Moscow.

Further on CPSU Instructions

NC141636 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] A conference has been held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, attended by first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms; ministers and

chairmen of state committees; heads and secretaries of party organizations of industrial enterprises, higher educational institutions, scientific institutions, and artistic establishments; workers of trade union and Komsomol organs; and representatives of the mass media. The conference examined the results of the CPSU Central Committee conference that heard reports on the state of affairs in the Azerbaijani SSR and the Armenian SSR in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the urgent tasks of the republic's party organization. Demirchyan, the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the conference.

It was noted that the fact that the CPSU Central Committee conference has examined the question is a vivid display of the enormous attention paid by the party to the fate of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, and to consolidating the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Transcaucasus and the country as a whole. This was a logical continuation to and the (?implementation) of the major positions and recommendations contained in Comrade Gorbachev's appeal to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia that has been ardently supported everywhere.

The Politburo's instructions to the Central Committee's Secretariat to organize a profound and all-round study of the accumulated problems in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the causes of the aggravation of inter-ethnic relations around it, to draw up relevant proposals and, as they are ready, to submit them for consideration by the CPSU Central Committee and the Government of the USSR, were received with great satisfaction. [Words indistinct] to work out a set of long-term measures to improve the international education of working people, and agreed on ways of solving operating questions concerning socioeconomic, everyday life, scientific, cultural, linguistic, and other aspects of mutual relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia based on Leninist principles of internationalism.

Party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations have been instructed to organize all the work in labor collectives on the basis of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's Appeal and the materials of the CPSU Central Committee conference, and to adopt all measures aimed at further normalizing the situation in the republic. Confidence was expressed that the working people of Soviet Armenia will display a high level of political awareness and deep understanding in treating the important position contained in Comrade Gorbachev's appeal—that the party stands for not shirking from the sincere discussion of various ideas and proposals, provided that this is done calmly, within the framework of democratic processes and legality, without permitting even the slightest harm to come to the international solidarity of the Soviet people.

Ideological Aktiv Meets

NC150837 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 15 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers carry brief reports on a conference of the republic's ideological aktiv, held on the eve of Political Day and devoted to the following theme: The Friendship of the Peoples is the source of the whole [word indistinct] of Soviet society and of the happiness of all its citizens.

The meeting was chaired by Vasiliy Konovalov, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party. Efram Dostomirov, head of the propaganda and agitation branch of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, participated in the work of the conference.

KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, KOMMUNIST in Armenian, VYSHKA, and SOVIET KENTI publish groups of brief items, articles, and [word indistinct] on the friendship of peoples.

[Baku Domestic Service in Russian at 0445 GMT on 15 March 1988 in its republican press review adds: "The organization, study, and explanation of problems connected with relations between nationalities, the radical improvement of mass political and ideoalogical work, and the internationalist upbringing of the working people were examined at a meeting of the republic's ideological aktiv held on the eve of Political Day. Papers carry brief reports on the meeting entitled 'To Strengthen the Bonds of Fraternity, Equality, and Mutual Aid.'"]

Letter on 'Greater' Goals

NC150839 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 0455 GMT 15 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] KOMMUNIST in Armenian publishes [words indistinct] under the title "In the United Family." Dzhihangirov, a war and labor veteran, writes: The message of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that was addressed to the Azerbaijani and Armenian working people and populace clearly states that we have greater and far-reaching goals. The Soviet people are now busy with the great task of perestroyka. Its success depends on the creative work of each one of us—Armenian or Azerbaijani, Russian or Ukrainian—living in our republic, who [words indistinct] our bright day and future.

Press Review on CPSU Meeting

NC151029 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0520 GMT 15 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN]

[Text] Items published under the title "[Word indis'inct] Is Opening Up New Prospects" are devoted to the recent events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The paper notes: For the past several days, the editorial board has been hearing responses to the conference held at the CPSU Central Committee. Readers note with satisfaction the great solicitude, intense attention, and immediacy shown by the CPSU Central Committee in dwelling on the situation created in Armenia and Azerbaijan in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. They emphasize the extremely important view expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the conference that the main thing now is to pursue consistently the Leninist principles regarding the nationalities policy and to strengthen the friendship of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, the peoples of the Soviet Transcaucasus, and of the whole country. He said that no single question of restructuring can be solved today without considering its effect on the relations between nationalities. The information that the Politburo has instructed the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat to organize a profound and detailed study of the problems which have occurred in Nagorno-Karabakh and the reasons for the exacerbation of the relations between nationalities, to draw up relevant proposals, and, as they become ready, present them for examination by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, has been received with special satisfaction.

Prosecutor: 'Pogroms' in Sumgait

AU150904 Paris AFP in English 0857 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 15 (AFP)—"Pogroms" against the Armenian minority in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait on February 28 were carried out by youths, including minors, joined by bands of criminals, according to the Soviet deputy prosecutor general.

It was the first time that a Soviet official has used the word "pogrom"—meaning organised mass killings of an ethnic community—to describe the massacres against the Armenians, which according to an official toll left 32 people dead.

In an interview with the Azerbaijan newspaper BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, whose edition from last Saturday reached here Tuesday, Alexander Katusev said that "mass disorders, accompanied by pogroms, arson and other excesses" occurred in Sumgait. Mr. Katusev also indicated that all those responsible had not yet been arrested, although "a number of active participants" had been detained.

According to the Sumgait state prosecutor, I. Gaibov, quoted in an article in Friday's BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, the average age of the attackers was 20. Mr. Gaibov said Azerbaijani investigators were working in a "special group" with Moscow-based officials to look into the Sumgait killings, adding that "energetic measures" were being taken so that none of those involved escaped justice. The two prosecutors did not say how many arrests had been made, but according to an Azerbaijani official in Baku more than 100 people have been detained.

The Sumgait massacres were sparked by the killing of two Azerbaijanis in the Armenian-dominated Azerbaijani autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh. The region is claimed by Armenians, who staged mass demonstrations in the Armenian capital Yerevan last month calling for Nagorno-Karabakh to be returned to Armenia.

Mr. Katusev said those involved in the Sumgait killings had acted "on the basis of groundless rumours fuelled from outside".

Mr. Gaibov added that many of the local Azerbaijani population in the city of 200,000 had taken their Armenian neighbours and acquaintances into their homes for protection during the massacres.

Another article in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY criticised Western media coverage of the Sumgait events, accusing them of publishing "rumours, insinuations and half truths". The paper also carried a two-page article on economic prospects in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Soviet authorities have ordered a top-level inquiry into the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh as a result of the Sumgait massacres.

Commission on Tatars Received 9,000 Testimonies

AU151303 Paris AFP in English 1252 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 15 (AFP)—A working commission set up in the central Asian republic of Uzbekistan to study the demands of Crimean Tatars seeking to return to their Black Sea homeland has received almost 9,000 personal testimonies, the daily PRAVDA VOSTOKA said in an edition reaching here Tuesday. The Uzbekistan paper quoted a commission member who said that in the seven months since the body was created in the wake of a state commission chaired by Soviet President Andrey Gromyko, it had received more than 6,000 letters and telegrams, 500 telephone calls and 2,000 visitors.

Thousands of Tatars were deported to Soviet central Asia from Crimea in 1944 by Stalin, after being accused of collaborating with the Nazis. Hundreds of them took part in demonstrations in Moscow's Red Square last July demanding to return home, and the state commission was then set up.

PRAVDA VOSTOKA published details on the local commission's work, which it said was continuing "actively" in cooperation with Moscow. The paper said the commission was taking a long time to reach a conclusion because of the amount of material it had to process.

The commission member, identified as N. Umerov, criticised "self-styled representatives" of the Tatar people for holding demonstrations in Uzbekistan which could have "unpredictable consequences". He stressed that the commission's main priority was ensuring the Tatars' return to Crimea, but above all to places where there was a manpower shortage.

The Uzbek paper indicated last week that Tatars with good work records or official recommendations would be allowed to return to the Black Sea region. But the Tatar representatives say that this would only involve a small number of families.

Supreme Soviet Presidium on Alcohol, Drugs

PM141343 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chaired by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, took place 4 March in the Kremlin.

It examined the question of executive organs' reports to the soviets and the population and deputies' reports to voters and labor collectives in the Estonian SSR under conditions of the restructuring and democratization of state life. A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered a report. Deputy A.K. Zitmanis, chairman of the Latvian SSR Trade Union Council, spoke on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies investigating the state of affairs in the localities.

The following took part in the discussion of the question: V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; P.G. Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Ye.Ye. Sokolov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; N.P. Otke, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of Chukotsk Okrug Soviet Ispolkom; and S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee.

Then the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the work of the Moldavian SSR Soviets of People's Deputies to combat drunkenness and drug addiction. A report was delivered by A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Deputy M.S. Khut, leader of the deputies' preparatory commission which has been studying the status of the struggle against drunkenness and drug addiction in the Moldavian SSR and first secretary of Adyge CPSU Obkom, spoke at the session.

The following spoke in the debates: Ya.Ya. Vagris, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N.N. Ryzhova, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and electric welder at the Podolsk Machine Building Plant named for Ordzhonikidze; and L.G. Sizov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs.

Resolutions were adopted on the questions under discussion; they will be published in the press.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also examined certain other questions of state life.

Comrades P.N. Demichev and Yu.F. Solovyev took part in the discussion of the questions on the agenda.

Decision Reported

PM151035 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. On the Reports Delivered by Executive Organs to Soviets and the Population and by Deputies to Voters and Labor Collectives in the Estonian SSR in Conditions of Restructuring and Democratization of State Life"]

[Text] As reported earlier, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has examined the question of executive organs' reports to Soviets and the population and deputies' reports to voters and labor collectives in the Estonian SSR in conditions of restructuring and democratization of state life.

The adopted resolution notes that the Estonian SSR's soviets of people's deputies, guided by the decisions of the 27th party congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, are working persistently to implement the tasks of accelerating socioeconomic development and deepening the process of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost in state and social life. Positive changes are under way in the republic's economy—production is increasing and labor productivity is

rising. Multifaceted work is in progress in developing the social sphere. Year after year plans are being fulfilled and a high level has been achieved in providing the population with housing.

The soviets' work has become more businesslike. They have begun to take more account of public opinion. The forms and methods of executive organs' reporting to soviets and the population and of deputies' reporting to voters and labor collectives are improving.

At the same time, the work of the republic's soviets, their executive organs, and deputies still does not correspond to the demands of restructuring, has not yet acquired the necessary scope and depth, and is not sufficiently geared to satisfying the working people's vital needs and interests. The Leninist demand that the work of elected organs and of people in official positions should be open to all and should be carried out before the eyes of the masses is still not fully implemented.

Serious concern is caused by the fact that the existing practice of reports by executive organs and deputies has failed to become an effective means of firmly establishing high exactingness and responsibility. It has contributed little to eliminating existing shortcomings in their work, especially in utilizing reserves for improving efficiency in industry, agriculture, and the construction sphere, and further developing the social sphere and the republic's cultural and spiritual life. Last year 27 enterprises breached output delivery contract discipline. Many enterprises fail to fulfill targets for producing consumer goods, improving their quality, and broadening their range.

The republic's agro-industrial complex is developing too slowly. Little is being done to increase soil fertility and to improve the standard of agriculture. The number of low-profit farms is not decreasing. An unsatisfactory situation has developed in meat production. The number of farms failing to cope with their livestock and poultry purchase targets increased in 1987. The role of subsidiary farms of citizens and enterprises in this matter is not fully appreciated.

Much remains to be done by the soviets and their organs in implementing the housing program outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress. More than 43,000 families and single people in the republic need to improve their housing conditions, and more than 50,000 families live in dilapidated houses.

Strengthening the material and technical base of cultural and health care institutions also demands serious attention. Many polyclinics and hospital outpatient departments are housed in not very suitable or even emergency premises. Almost half the clubs require capital repairs. And only 89 of 642 libraries have reading rooms.

The soviets' attention to such acute problems as the struggle against drunkenness and moonshining and strengthening public law and order is totally inadequate.

The republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, Council of Ministers, and ministries and departments do not show due persistence in implementing the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Further Enhance the Role and Reinforce the Responsibility of Soviets of People's Deputies for the Acceleration of Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Decisions of the the 27th CPSU Congress."

An atmosphere has still not been created in the republic in which all elected organs, officials, and soviet deputies are fully aware of their responsibility and dependence on voters and labor collectives.

Ispolkom reports at soviet sessions are, as a rule, held simultaneously with the examination of many other questions, and this substantially detracts from the quality of the discussion of these reports. A characteristic feature of the sessions is their stage-management, lack of necessary criticism and self-criticism, and principled assessment of the prevailing state of affairs. The reports do not illustrate the style and methods of ispolkoms' work and their place and role in the process of restructuring. The soviets' draft decisions on these questions are frequently drawn up by the ispolkoms themselves without the participation of standing commissions and deputies.

Legislative requirements pertaining to the reports of ispolkom departments and administrations to soviets and meetings at citizens' places of residence are not observed. Only 9 of 313 department and administration reports were discussed at sessions in 1986, and only 5 in 1987.

Frequently deputies' reports to voters are dull and uninteresting and voters' attendance is poor.

Sometimes deputies still submit group reports whereby 2-3 deputies speak for 10-15 deputies, while the others merely attend.

The lack of direct contact with voters leads to a situation where deputies know little about people's moods and needs, they appear helpless and confused in the new conditions which require greater social activeness from them, and they maintain a passive stance in the propaganda of the ideas of restructuring and the international and patriotic education of the working people, especially the younger generation.

Not everywhere have proper recording of the proposals and critical remarks submitted by voters and labor collectives during the discussion of the reports of executive organs and deputies and monitoring of the timely

implementation and notification of adopted measures been organized. Many of these proposals, especially those pertaining to the social sphere, demand serious attention.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium focused the attention of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and republic local soviets of people's deputies on serious shortcomings in the practical implementation of legislative provisions concerning regular reports by executive organs to soviets and the population and by deputies to voters and labor collectives. It noted that the work carried out in this area still does not correspond to the demands of restructuring, the scale and novelty of the tasks in hand, the expansion of glasnost and the democratic foundations of soviets' work, and the reinforcement of real control, especially control from "below."

Estonian SSR soviets of people's deputies are to resolutely end the underestimation of the political significance of the reports of executive organs and deputies. This is an important means of promoting the process of restructuring and accelerating the socioeconomic development of rayons, cities, villages, settlements, and labor collectives, the expression of public opinion, and active mobilization of the working people to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

It is necessary to constantly improve the practice of preparing and holding reports and to seek to ensure that they take place on a genuinely democratic basis, in a spirit of objectivity, frankness, and exactingness, and in conditions of broad glasnost. Care must be taken to prevent soviet sessions and labor collective and voters meetings from turning into stage-managed events held for appearances' sake.

Persistent efforts must be made to ensure that the reports of ispolkoms, their departments and administrations, and deputies are devoted to topical problems which interest the population and that they are accompanied by businesslike discussions, objective criticism, constructive proposals, and principled assessments of their activities. This must be done proceeding from the premise that only real advances in restructuring and tangible improvements in the economic, social, and spiritual sphere can serve as a criterion of efficient work.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and local soviets of people's deputies have been told that it is necessary consistently to eradicate formalism in preparing and holding deputies' reports and to avoid petty tutelage of deputies by the ispolkom apparatus. It is necessary to take steps to get rid of the practice whereby many deputies do not actually report on their activities but confine themselves merely to attending meetings.

It is necessary to ensure that meetings to discuss reports are constructive, enhance the responsibility of executive organs, officials, and deputies, and fill them with new strength and enthusiasm for hard and fruitful work in all spheres of economic and sociocultural building.

It is necessary to organize careful recording of proposals and critical remarks expressed by voters, labor collectives, and deputies during reports and to adopt timely measures for their implementation, the unconditional elimination of revealed shortcomings, and fuller satisfaction of the population's needs and requests.

It is necessary to firmly cut short any attempts to use the expansion of democracy and glasnost for the promotion of unhealthy antisocial phenomena.

Estonian SSR soviets and economic organs and their leaders must proceed from the premise that now, at the new and crucially important stage of restructuring, they must persistently seek to master modern methods of economic management in conditions of expanding socialist democracy and glasnost, the application of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), and the utilization of opportunities which have opened up to ensure that people truly feel that they are masters of production.

It is necessary to make the maximum effort to overcome the braking factors impeding the democratization of state life, the resolute renewal of the forms and methods of organizational and poltical-educational work, the firm establishment of social justice, and the interested and enterprising participation of broad strata of the population in the profound transformations of all aspects of life and the real processes of management and self-management.

The union and autonomous republic supreme soviet presidiums and local soviets of people's deputies are instructed to adopt measures ensuring the unconditional fulfillment of the constitutional requirements for regular reports by executive organs to soviets and the population and by deputies to voters and labor collectives.

It is necessary to ensure an effective link between the reports and the intensification of organizational and political-educational work to greet the 19th all-union party conference in a worthy fashion and to focus practical activity on solving the main tasks of restructuring—the implementation of a radical economic reform, democratization of all social life, improved education and upbringing of the rising generation and the working masses, and the successful fulfillment of the plans for 1988 and the 12th 5-Year Plan as a whole.

Latvian Prosecutor Criticizes 'Helsinki-86'

LD150932 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Riga March 15 TASS—"Several deeds by members of the so-called 'Helsinki-86' group, that acts in 'defence of human rights' have signs of those actions

which are punishable as criminal offences", Janis Dzenitis, a public prosecutor of this Baltic republic, told TASS. He drew attention, in part, to the propaganda of racial and national enmity.

Janis Dzenitis warned the group's leaders that if it did not cease its anti-societal activity, measures would be applied to the group's members, up to holding them liable in law. He noted that the criminal code of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic stipulated that actions intended to ignite racial or national enmity or dissension were punishable by the deprivation of freedom from six months to three years or exile for the terms ranging between two to five years.

This warning was actually addressed to the second composition of the group numbering slightly more than ten members. Its founders, who have recently left Latvia for the West, were scathingly criticized by the public for the calls of the nationalist nature. For instance, Roland Silaraups, one of them, called fascist dictatorship as his ideal, and Linard Grantins, former leader, upon arrival in Vienna on March 1, 1988, admitted himself that the "struggle against Russians and other residents of Latvia, who were not ethnic Latvians", underlied his activity.

Like other members of the group—Janis Barkans, Raimond Bitenieks and Edmund Cirvilis, who arrogated the right to speak on behalf of the Latvian people, they served sentences for criminal offences.

Juris Vidins, a physician who was denied by electors the mandate of the deputy of the district soviet (council), followed in the footsteps of Linard Grantins. He decided to stake on "fighters" with an untainted reputation. In this, however, he does not succeed. The tone in the group is set as before by the figures of the type of Meria Vitola, the 30-year-old resident of the small town of Talsi, who was repeatedly held accountable for prostitution and brawling with people while being drunk.

The group's new leaders, while in words backing away from their associates who compromised themselves, nevertheless follow their example. They proposed, in part, "working out a provision for persons who wish to take a permanent residence in the republic". This discriminating demand is contained in the group's "memorandum". It suggests measures which, as the public prosecutor said, would ultimately generate hostility among the USSR's peoples, undermine the principles of socialism which are supported by the Latvian people.

Euphemistic References to Jews Criticized

PM140705 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10, 6 Mar 88 p 3

[Boris Berman article: "Lexical Nuance"]

[Text] Who is Zurab Tsintsadze? You don't know him? Naturally. He lives, let's say, in Kutaisi. So what is he? An engineer? Probably. A worker? Quite possible. But on top of everything else he is a "person of Georgian nationality". Rubbish, you will say, this Tsintsadze is a Georgian—not a "person of Georgian nationality". And you will be right. In this sense everything is simple regarding all the nationalities inhabiting our multinational country. With one exception.

Reading newspapers, listening to the radio and watching television, one discovers that our country is populated not by Jews, but by "persons of Jewish nationality". This is the kind of lexical nuance we have. Therefore, it appears, I am also a "person of Jewish nationality". Like my late father who fought through the whole war and became a party member at the front, like my mother and sister and her six-year-old daughter....

This is not a linguistic question. The lexicon, as we all know, is nourished by life and its realities. So from whence did this red-tapism enter into our life? In whose hearing mustn't one say "simply" Jews? Who has offended whom and in what respect?

This term, "person of Jewish nationality", was widely used at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s when many Jews went abroad to be reunited with their relatives. Some of them really wanted to be reunited, but others profited by the "wave" to quit the country. For various reasons. But there were consequences. One of them was this term invented evidently by some official representative who, wittingly or otherwise, expressed his scorn for those who had left. The expression was extended to those who never even planned to leave. When they were referred to as "persons of Jewish nationality" in their own country, doubts inevitably sprang up in the mass consciousness as to the loyalty of these "persons".

And yet, I think, these are merely events on the surface. If we trace the plot back, it will lead, I believe, to the early 1950s. The clumsy formula-euphemism recalls other euphemisms for those "persons" ("displaced" ones, for example) whom Stalin's bureaucratic machine flatly denied the privilege of loyalty. Much, you will agree, too much is still with us from those times. I don't know whether the choreographers of the "doctors' case" wanted to implant the "presumption of guilt" with respect to the Jews in people's minds, but they largely succeeded regardless. Only recently my mother told me about the nasty looks people gave her in a store where she had come with me, then five, the morning newspapers reported the arrest of Vovsi and other "doctors-wreckers".... The "doctors' case" was settled a long time ago, but the term "persons of Jewish nationality" is still being given wide currency.

Even in MOSCOW NEWS, in an article entitled "Shadows Off Screen" criticizing the jingoistic views of leaders of the Pamyat society, the Jews are again referred to as—of all things—"persons..."

Once I came across a documentary episode dating back to the Patriotic War. Two popular singers, who became members of a partisan detachment, "legalized" themselves on occupied territory, gave concerts and, naturally, fulfilled combat missions. Both died death of heroes. Both were Muscovites—one was a Russian and the other was a Jew. When I shared my intention to write a script with a well-known scriptwriter whom I sincerely respected, he began to persuade me—with cautious kindness, like his own son—not to touch that theme.

And persuade me he did. I am still ashamed when I think of this. I feel ashamed both in respect to myself and in respect to the memory of those who, defending my Motherland, were in a single formation with all the peoples of this nation. There were no "persons of Jewish nationality": the formation was made up of Soviet people.

A far as that theme is concerned, there were those who, thank goodness, were not scared by it. Much has already been written about Aleksandr Askoldov's film "Commissar" in which Yefim Magazannik dreams about a "kind international". Magazannik is a Jewish tinsmith, whose poor family is entered—not without some difficulty—by a Russian woman, Klavdiya Vavilova, a stern commissar of the civil war.

Banned for twenty years, "Commissar" is now being released. Justice triumphs beyond all doubt. But reading a thorough, clever review of the film in a popular youth newspaper, I find no mention of the family Vavilova joined or the nation she discovered for herself. I phoned the author of the review (we are good friends) and it turned out that he had called a spade a spade: Russians were called Russians, and Jews—Jews. What tactical considerations guided the editor, when he crossed out all the references to "Jews" and replaced them with the abstract "people"?

We, of course (as a TV humorist brilliantly put it), do "more reading between the lines than any other people in the world". But isn't it time to give up this dubious priority? There are no abstract "people". Every one of us is such as he is—with his own name, his own profile and colour of eyes. Which is why we are people. "Little cogs" alone are abstract. But we have already studied this, we have already been given this name. Little depends on "little cogs", but everything depends on people. And if we're fighting for the new thinking, let's not forget about lexical nuances. People are behind them.

All of us are co-citizens. What a remarkable word. What a weighty meaning a mere two letters impart to it.

Controllers 'Not to Blame' for Hijack Deaths

PM141141 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Mar 88 First Edition p 6

[N. Dombkovskiy article under the rubric "Reporting Details": "Five Tense Hours. Narrative About Operations by Ground Services on the Evening of 8 March"]

[Text] Bandits are attempting to hijack an aircraft in flight! This news report on the evening of 8 March placed many hundreds of people on emergency alert. The crew was struggling against the hijackers up there, in the sky. Dozens of services were covering flight safety down on the ground. Today we have an opportunity to offer a minute-by-minute account of how the situation developed and what forces were brought into action in order to bring the aircraft out of the emergency situation and render the criminals harmless.

1501. The Main Air Traffic Control Center receives a report from Leningrad: The captain of TU-154 aircraft No 85413 reports that, while flying over Vologda, the following note was handed in from the main cabin: "Make course for London." A group of young people armed with two sawn-off shotguns have taken over the main cabin. Flight altitude 11,600 meters. The report is passed on to the leadership of the Ministry of Civil Aviation.

1515. Report from the aircraft: 11 hijackers have taken over the main cabin. Remaining fuel sufficient for 1 hour and 35 minutes' flying time.

1522. From Leningrad: Aircraft 180 km from Pulkovo Airport.

1530. Shift supervisor at the Main Air Traffic Control Center to aircraft: Flight engineer is authorized to enter main cabin for talks subject to proper safety measures.

1531. Leningrad: Distance 110 km, altitude 11,600 meters.

1537. Leningrad: Distance 40 km, altitude 11,600 meters.

1542. From Leningrad: Aircraft captain suggests reducing altitude over Gulf of Finland, telling hijackers that he has to land and refuel in Helsinki due to fuel shortage, and actually landing at a domestic airport. Weather conditions allow this.

1545. Chief of Main Air Traffic Control Center issues orders that "Tallinn" Airport be alerted to accept the aircraft.

1546. By this time, air traffic controllers have done a vast amount of work. Leningrad is a main junction for air travel. Hundreds of aircraft and helicopters were in the Leningrad airspace at the time when the news from the TU-154 came in. It was absolutely impossible to guess how the bandits would behave. In order to ensure maximum safety in the air space, traffic controllers redirected other aircraft around the country, clearing the sky in both latitude and altitude. At the same time, dozens of airfields were put on emergency alert to accept the stricken aircraft.

By that time, members of emergency services had been alerted and, fully equipped, had taken their places in helicopters—if anything happened, physicians and specialists would immediately be flown to the scene of the accident to evacuate casualties.

Contact with aircraft No 85413 could have been broken off at any moment—the hijackers' actions were, we repeat, unpredictable—and for this reason several radar installations had their beams firmly "locked on" to the TU-154, acting as its invisible companions. Ground services chiefs knew at any given moment precisely where the aircraft was and its direction, speed, and altitude. At the same time, sophisticated equipment also showed on the operators' display units the aircraft's remaining fuel....

1555. The TU-154 approaches to land at the chosen airport. Altitude 1,500 meters. The captain asks ground control: Any suggestions? Ground control replies: Keep talking!

1605. The aircraft lands.

1610. The aircraft taxies to the stand and requests refueling.

1617. A helicopter takes off to bring in the rescue squad.

1630. Report from the TU-154: The hijackers are becoming aggressive, a stewardess has been taken hostage.

1703. Report from the aircraft: The hijackers are threatening to blow up the aircraft, demanding immediate refueling and takeoff for Helsinki. The captain requests permission to let the flight engineer simulate refueling operations.

1704. Permission given for the flight engineer to disembark.

1712. One tanker has refueled the aircraft. Another tanker is requested from the aircraft. It is decided to allow a second trip by the tanker to give the bandits the illusion that the aircraft is being prepared for takeoff.

1718. Tension on the ground mounts. Helicopter-borne rescue squads take up station near the airport; the airspace above the airport and the approaches to it remain free. Dozens of aircraft on regular flights are forced to avoid the danger zone, burning up hundreds of tonnes of fuel to no purpose. The emergency alert remains in force....

1720. The hijackers threaten to use weapons to back their demands for minimum refueling and immediate takeoff for Helsinki.

1750. Second tanker approaches the TU-154.

1810. Refueling completed. The flight engineer reembarks and, using a ruse, returns to the crew compartment leaving the hijackers in the main cabin.

1818. The captain of the TU-154 warms up the engines, pretending to prepare for takeoff. The TU-154 taxies to the edge of the takeoff strip. The bandits demand immediate takeoff; the captain replies that he cannot move independently and is waiting for a tractor.

1835. Two members of the rescue squad enter the crew compartment. Preparations begin to render the bandits harmless. Code signals are agreed, the time to start the operation is set.

1850. Repeated threats to blow up the aircraft. The captain reports that the stewards are showing restraint, doing everything possible to ease the tension and calm the passengers.

1910. Two shots are fired from the main cabin into the crew compartment. The rescue squad rushes into the main cabin. First injuries caused.

1920. Exchange of fire reported from the main cabin. The hijackers offer desperate resistance.

1922. Report from the airport: Ground crew members heard a sharp bang, smoke coming out of the aircraft's tail section.

1930. The aircraft's tail section on fire.

1935. Main and emergency exits opened, emergency chutes released, stewards and several volunteers helping to evacuate passengers.

2000. Some of the hijackers captured.

2025. Crew approach control tower and air traffic control station. Stand down on emergency.

...Our narrative in no way covers everything that took place during that tragic evening.

It is impossible to list the names of all who excelled, but it is also impossible not to mention those whose lot it was to coordinate operations and make crucial decisions. They are: V.G. Shelkovnikov, chief of the Ministry of Civil Aviation Central Air Traffic Control; V.I. Frolov, shift supervisor at the Main Center for Integrated Air Traffic Control System; V.K. Dokolenko, shift supervisor at the Leningrad Regional Center of the Main Center for Integrated Air Traffic Control System; and A.P. Yegorov, chief of this center.

An investigation is still in progress which has much to clarify and establish, but it can already be said that airmen and air traffic controllers did everything to prevent a tragedy. And they are not to blame that it happened nevertheless....

Alcohol Output To Increase To 'Prevent Turmoil'

LD291514 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

The number of road accidents resulting from drunken driving last year fell by 6,000, or 14 percent, and the rate of deaths due to heavy drinking in the past two years plummeted by 52 percent, a senior militia officer said here today.

Major-General Vyacheslav Ogorodnikov, first deputy chief of the Soviet Interior Ministry's main directorate for protecting public order, was speaking at a news conference on the results of the anti-drink drive since anti-alcoholism legislation was enacted in 1985.

Describing the increasingly hard line taken on illegal home brewing, he said more than 500,000 people, or twice as many as in 1986 and 13 times as many as in 1984, were brought to administrative and criminal responsibility for moonshining last year.

The scope of illicit distilling exceeds that of government-run operations by 40 to 50 percent.

The sharp reduction of liquor production (by 44 percent, as compared with 1984) has led to a situation where 3.6 million liters of home brew and 167,000 home stills were confiscated in the country last year.

It has now been decided, the general said, to somewhat increase the output of some categories of alcoholic drinks, including brandy, grape wines and beer, so as to prevent unhealthy turmoil.

Ogorodnikov added that methods of combatting drunkenness and alcoholism need to be improved. First of all, it is essential to increase security at and around factories using spirits for production purposes. Last year more than 10,000 thefts of alcohol to a total tune of over nine million roubles were uncovered.

A tough crackdown is maintained on black marketeers speculating in alcoholic drinks: 34,000 people were brought to account for such offenses in 1987.

"We find the experience of fighting with alcoholism in the United States, France and Scandinavia interesting," General Ogorodnikov said. "For our part, we are prepared to share our own experience with them. Just like drug addition, drunkenness is, after all, a common misfortune."

Militia Official Interviewed

LD292211 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] A meeting with journalists, devoted to a very topical and burning issue—the campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism—took place at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs today. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov has asked Militia Colonel (Valeriy Vasilyevich Borkun), deputy chief of the ministry's main administration for the maintenance of public order, for an interview:

[Begin recording] [Fedorov] Valeriy Vasilyevich, a great deal has been done over the past 2 and 1/2 years, the period of the party's resolute offensive against drunkenness and alcoholism. Please tell us about the positive and negative aspects of this campaign as they are now.

[Borkun] I would like to mention several figures. As far as the consumption of alcoholic beverages is concerned, it has been reduced by more than 2.5 times over the period that has elapsed. The reduction in the consumption of alcoholic beverages has brought about a number of positive changes that also affect economic indicators. The total losses due to absenteeism, stoppages, and absences from work with the administration's permission has declined by 30 percent in industry and by 20 percent in the construction industry.

Demographic indicators have improved. The population's mortality rate directly linked with alcohol declined by 50 percent. The number of crimes committed due to drunkenness last year declined, relative to 1985, by a third.

[Fedorov] It is no secret that certain hiccups have recently begun to appear in the campaign against drunkenness. Well, 300,000 drunks were removed by the militia from the streets, public places, and transport places in Moscow last year alone. Little by little, drunks have also begun to appear in work places. What is the crux of the matter here?

[Borkun] Well, it must be said that on the whole the acuteness of the attitude to these phenomena has slackened somewhat. I think that in this respect the public should assess in a more principled and acute manner immoral, antisocial phenomena and cases involving our citizens being in public places while drunk.

[Fedorov] One more problem, one of the most acute: home brewing. Here are some figures mentioned today: 80,000 home brewers were uncovered in 1985; 150,000 in 1986; and almost 400,000 people last year.

[Borkun] Only between 5 and 6 percent of cases involving home brewing are brought to light by the public; the remainder is brought to light by the militia functionaries. Naturally, there is a big reserve for combating this

socially dangerous evil, first and foremost through mobilizing the whole public and work force in the struggle against home brewing. After all, equipment for home brewing is, as a rule, put together at work, and all too often materials in short supply are used for this.

[Fedorov] In front of people?

[Borkun] In front of one's work comrades. There is no doubt that the potential of the work forces, of the public and one's neighbors will make it possible for us to attain a breakthrough in this work. [end recording]

Continuing Alcoholism in Moldavia Decried

LD122059 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Mar 88

[Text] As you are aware, comrades, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has examined the work of the soviets of people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR in intensifying the struggle against drunkenness and drug addiction. Our correspondent Ivan Petkov reports:

[Petkov] A meeting with the leaders of the mass information media, the creative unions, the theaters, and sports organizations took place yesterday at the Moldavian Communist party Central Committee. Among the issues under discussion was that of what one can use to counter the continuing trend of alcoholism, which is not surrendering its positions. Administrative and law enforcement measures have already been made more severe, but so far the social influence of this has been very ineffective. This was spoken about with concern by Comrade Grossu, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee.

Take today, for example: The theater noticeboards are not at all exciting; there are no noteworthy sporting encounters in Kishinev and the sports halls, the sports areas, and the rural clubs and stadiums remain half empty. In the countryside anyone who is unstable can stretch out to what is close at hand and accessible. I have just telephoned the emergency services of the republic's state motor vehicle inspectorate. During yesterday and last night they detained 323 drunken drivers and tractor drivers. For the whole of last year this figure was 22,704 and more than half of the drinking sessions at the wheel begin in the driver's own home, in his wine cellar, using barrels of wine produced from his own vineyard on his private plot.

There is a lot of talk about replacing types of grapes grown for wine production with those intended for the table, but even when rural assemblies take that kind of decison by democratic means they do not see it through to fruition. Many people here are waiting for the republic's Society for the Drive for Sobriety to take effective measures, too. It is an impressive organization, judging by its membership—200,000 people—but what's the point if 100,000 people are prosecuted every year in the republic for violating the anti-alcohol legislation? Work it out, that is nearly 1 in 25 of Moldavia's adult inhabitants.

Here's something else that's noteworthy. In our cities, and even more so in the countryside, you won't see queues for intoxicating drink at the special shops, though at the same time there are regular interruptions to sugar supplies. Nor is the number of cases of theft of wine and spirits from wineries declining. There was a recent discovery at one of the wineries in the Yedinetskiy Rayon—investigations are now being carried out—where 40 tonnes of spirits worth R1.2 million were stolen. When checks are made of the technology almost everywhere at the wineries the shortages are not discovered. What has been stolen is written off as leakage and natural shrinkage, the books are confused so that sometimes investigations end up in a blind alley. It's a shame—you can't put it any other way. But measures are being taken. Checks and the way people are brought to book are being toughened and it would appear that national pride is being awakened and the public aroused. Everyone understands that one cannot go on living like that.

Vorotnikov, Shalayev Receive Athletes

LD150201 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Today, in the RSFSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Vorotnikov welcomed athletes who represented the Russian Federation at the recent winter Olympics. [passage omitted]

Also today a reception was held in the AUCCTU for Olympic medal winners who represented trade union sports societies. They made a weighty contribution to the success of our sport at the Calgary games, winning 34 medals, 18 of which were gold. Comrade Shalayev greeted those assembled. [passage omitted]

Weekly Calls for Non-Party 'Democratic Union'

PM140701 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10, 6 Mar 88 p 8-9

[Boris Kurashvili article: "Learning From Fraternal Countries. What About a Democratic Alliance?"]

[Text] The Soviet people's socio-political activity engendered by perestroyka has not been confined to existing mass socio-political organizations. Numerous small, independent public organizations have sprung up. Some, like "Perestroyka" in Moscow, are dedicated to solving a wide range of problems. Others specialize in social activities (the preservation of cultural monuments, protection of animals, etc.), but link their work to the solution of perestroyka problems. This intensive public activity hasn't produced appreciable results as yet. For

one thing, these organizations don't know how to proceed: they haven't directed their efforts at specific people in authority, people in a position to make decisions.

This in turn is explained by the fact that our political system has, in my opinion, a big flaw which went unnoticed during the years of stagnation and has become visible only now as a result of perestroyka. We have no public alliance uniting people according to social and other interests, citizens over the Komsomol age who are not party members. A democratic union like those in some socialist countries could fulfil this function.

The National Front in the GDR and Czechoslovakia, and the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria differ from one another in many respects, but they also have an important similarity: they unite different political parties (wherever a multi-party system has been accepted, recognizing the guiding role of the Communist Party), public organizations and movements around common socialist and patriotic principles. Usually, they have collective, as well as individual members. Thus, the Fatherland Front unites nearly all adults in Bulgaria. The activities of different democratic unions vary, but they all help coordinate the interests of various social groups, and enable citizens and public organizations alike to show their worth in running state and social affairs. In short, these unions contain substantial democratic potential.

The fact that we manage without an organization like the Fatherland Front is a reflection of our undeveloped political culture, rather than the progress of our socialist development. The long period of emergency administration (during the 1930s and 40s) was followed by a longer period of its unjustified preservation (from the 1950s to the middle of the 80s). The stubborn refusal to shift to the management system, normal for socialist society, couldn't help but turn into socio-political and moral stagnation. Now, at last, we are pulling out of that painful situation and the creation of a mass democratic union can be seen as a component of perestroyka.

Let's call it a Democratic Union of Socialist Development. This name is tentative. Other possibilities might be: People's Front in Support of Perestroyka or Democratic Union for the Renovation of Socialism. The advantage of the latter names is that they reflect the crucial tasks at hand; the Union is temporary. In fact, it has foundations for permanent work in developing and developed socialist society.

This union is not intended as a new party, "a party of non-party people". We have neither a real socio-class basis nor a practical need for this. There are neither classes nor inter-class groups with opposite or considerably differing interests. Then what is there? There are substantial, but temporary discrepancies, contradictions and latent conflicts between social innovators, the supporters of perestroyka, and social conservatives, disguised opponents of perestroyka. Owing to the temporary character of these discrepancies (a conclusive perestroyka would remove them), the question of rival parties is not up for discussion. A democratic union cannot be a "party of non-party people". Since, by definition, it must be open to all citizens: non-party people, Communists and Komsomol members. To all who wish to participate in its work.

Naturally, the new union would function under the general guidance of the party—the people's vanguard, the guiding nucleus of all state and public organizations. The union would become yet another arena of the party's political activity. There is a real basis for the creation of this union. In essence, it would legitimize and build on the long-ago-proclaimed electoral bloc of Communists and non-party people.

Naturally, the union must be an autonomous socio-political organization with its own political agenda, authority, integrity, independent decisions and the ability to implement them. A passive union isn't what's needed. A passive union would immediately compromise itself and become just another artificial formation, an arena for bureaucratic games passed off as political activity by the players.

As for the party's and soviets of people's deputies' role in guiding and advising the union, it should be limited to persuasion. If persuasion doesn't work, we must think why. Possibly because the persuasion wasn't skilful, or because attempts were made to persuade people that incorrect decisions were correct. If this union is set up, it must be with the clear understanding that the union and its branches reserve the right to criticize the party committees, the soviets of people's deputies and the management machinery concerning the implementation of party decisions and Soviet legislation. In that case, wouldn't it create a social mechanism, as Mikhail Gorbachev said at the February Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, "with precisely regulated effective democratic control and corresponding legal procedures which would...preclude the possibility of subjectivity at all levels of our political system. It is necessary to achieve that decisions of principled importance be worked out and adopted with the people's active participation."

What would the union's activities include? Working out proposals with initiative in response to the party's policy-making decisions; participation in the discussion of these draft decisions; the right to initiate legislation at the national and republics' level; proposals on local development of standards; election campaigns (nomination of candidates, their discussion, meetings with candidates, elaboration of mandates, etc.); proposals regarding the organization of management, comprehensive development of territories; meetings between officials

and citizens, and their reports; anti-bureaucratism; assistance in searching for the truth; comrades' courts and other activities inherent in a democratic organization which actively and authoritatively participates in carrying out people's socialist self-administration.

The Union must have not only individual, but also collective members. Many of the existing independent organizations could be among its collective members. The union would give them a better-defined and more solid status in the social mechanism.

Readers Call for 'Overdue' Look at Komsomol

PM150941 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 4 March 1988 carries on page 2 a 4,500 word feature under the "Debating Chamber" rubric. The items included are in response to an article entitled "Not Seeking To Please" by Aleksandr Galagan, senior scientific worker at the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Science and Research Center, published in the newspaper on 22 December 1987 which, according to the brief editorial introduction, "pointedly raised problems concerning Komsomol history. The article produced a large response. Judging by the letters which we publish today, the discussion has turned into a debate about the nature of the Komsomol as a sociopolitical organization."

Two short letters are carried under the "Lines from Letters" subhead. The first, entitled "Academics Dominated by...Fear," from M. Astakhov, lecturer in the Kuybyshev Planning Institute CPSU History Department, claims Galagan's article is the "first-ever true assessment of the state of affairs in Komsomol historical science." He agrees that the "language of 'hints and half-truths'" used by historians of the Komsomol has its origin in the thirties and that academics still work in an atmosphere of fear—"and not, of course, just in researching biographical questions." He thinks it "futile to expect true knowledge from historical science until the mechanism stopping everyone expressing a standpoint different from the opinion of the leaders who are prospering is dismantled and eulogy and opportunism are seen for what they are." The second letter, entitled "What Do We Know About It?", by Candidate of Historical Sciences S. Gorin, says that the writer often comes across complete ignorance of even the basic landmarks in Komsomol history among Komsomol members and that most students are surprised to learn that "all Komsomol general secretaries of the prewar period were repressed and only one was not actually killed." He suggests there should be a nationwide competition for Komsomol scientific posts and that intellect and ability rather than a Moscow residence permit and personal connections should be the recruitment criteria.

Under the title "The Truth and Nothing But the Truth," Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Kipriyanov begins by saying that the discussion initiated by Galagan is "long overdue." He claims that most books regard the Komsomol merely as a "young people's educational organization." He then examines the youth organization's very early history, showing how in the twenties, for example, "the social and legal protection of young working people occupied pride of place in Komsomol work. Paradoxically, this most important aspect of Komsomol activity proved most 'unpopular' with its historians." Komsomol history, in Kipriyanov's view, is "distinguished by complexity, contradiction and sometimes dramatic qualities." According to him, "unquestioning acceptance of documents, description instead of analysis, apologist views of the past, and sometimes mistaken practice are chronic diseases of Komsomol history." He ends by criticizing the quality of scientific researchers trained at the Komsomol High School and singles out as acting as a brake on Komsomol historical research the "clique" that was created at the Higher Komsomol School at the end of the sixties under N.V. Trushchenko, its rector at the time, and which resulted in an atmosphere of dogmatism in which "no healthy scientific discussion was possible." He concludes that Galagan is right, "urgent and energetic measures are needed" to correct the prevailing situation in Komsomol historical science.

In a contribution entitled "Testing by Glasnost?", A. Zhitnukhin, chief of the editorial office of the Komsomol Central Committee's Molodaya Gvardiya Publishing House, "does not share" Galagan's complaints. He criticizes the latter's location of the source for all the blanks in Komsomol history in the time of the personality cult as "modishness" and claims that Galagan is guilty of one-sideness in ignoring the fact that there are "worthy examples of a well-considered approach to the complex issues of Soviet history." Zhitnukhin alleges that "the excessive highlighting in a number of mass-circulation periodicals of just the negative role of certain historical personalities entails ignoring the role of the true creators of our history." "Such attempts and, let us be blunt, artificial debunking of heroes," he continues, "do irreparable harm to the continuity of the generations." He also defends the publishing record of the Higher Komsomol School against mere academicism.

A final section, also subheaded "Lines from Letters," contains three short letters. In one entitled "A New Commission for the Study of the History of the Komsomol Is Needed," Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. Lipilin says: "I entirely support A. Galagan's comments as an expression of the author's diquiet at the state of affairs in this area of the general historical front. I think that the cause of a certain lull here is that general questions in other areas of the history of the USSR and the CPSU are not yet being tackled." An integrated conception of the Komsomol in the various periods of its existence needs to be developed and its contribution, positive and negative, evaluated. He calls for a revival of the body mentioned in the title, which operated under the Komsomol Central Committee and its forerunner, the Russian Communist Youth, from 1921 through the early thirties.

P. Lukichev and A. Skorik, postgraduate students at Rostov University, in a letter entitled "Not by Quotation Alone..." complain at the voluntarism, lack of analysis, quotation-mania, and argument from authority that prevail in the social sciences, where "any vital thought is interpreted as 'deviation from Marxism...'"

In the final letter, entitled "Without Blanks," A. Kapnushev (Stavropol Kray) opines that the Komsomol Central Committee should take urgent measures to resolve the problems raised in Galagan's article.

Readers Urge More Glasnost, Decry 'Millionaires'
PM150955 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Roundup of readers' letters under the rubric "Letters to PRAVDA": "Reflections on Crucial Matters"]

[Excerpts] No More Than An Announcement [subhead]

In the middle of January the newspaper SOVETSKAYA SIBIR carried a brief report on a plenum of the Novosibirsk party gorkom at which an organizational question had been discussed. It announced in what was almost telegraphic style: "V.V. Kazarezov has been released from his duties as first secretary and member of the party gorkom bureau. A.V. Maslov has been coopted onto the CPSU Gorkom and elected gorkom first secretary and member of the bureau." Not a word more. Yet the 1.5 million inhabitants of the oblast center and the Novosibirsk Communists are by no means indifferent to who has been placed at the head of the city party organization. They want to know his biographical details, his ideas, his disposition, if you like.

We inhabitants of Novosibirsk know the former first secretary as a respected, efficient party worker. He did a great deal, but he also made very many promises, especially as regards the improvement of food supplies in this vast city. Why make a secret of it?: Most of the city's inhabitants are forced to travel to neighboring oblasts to obtain food. We were all very keen to hear what was happening to these promises. In this context, I believe, a joint appearance of the outgoing and the new secretary on television would not be amiss (we have a very good "Panorama" program). Kazarezov could frankly describe what he managed and what he did not manage to do. And Maslov could, first, present himself to the people and tell them about himself, and second, he would have an opportunity to express his attitude to things and problems and frankly state what he considers his main tasks in his future work to be. This, in my view, would be in keeping with the spirit of the times.

I. Neklyudov, Novosibirsk. [passage omitted]

I Cannot Help Making Comparisons [subhead]

I closely follow the newspapers. There is no denying that they have become more interesting, especially as regards material relating to our history. Various viewpoints are being expressed. However, in my opinion, the honorable authors of many publications do not even attempt to view history from the following angle: What have we lost during the so-called "post-Stalin" period?

Where, for instance, have the advantages of socialist planning disappeared to? I am sure that the older and even the middle generations will remember how even in the difficult days of the Great Patriotic War every work station (I am not talking about enterprises and organizations) was supplied with raw and other materials and components. Everyone gave their all. Plans were fulfilled and greatly exceeded. I cannot help making comparisons with present-day production. Of course, the machine tools and the equipment of work stations are different. Yet at the same time, essentials needed to ensure normal, uninterrupted labor are lacking. As a rule 50-70 percent of the monthly target has to be produced during the last third of the month...

No one imagined that Soviet "millionaires" would appear in our society, which is building communism. Without disposing of the means of production or hired labor, certain individuals have managed to amass huge fortunes, they live in luxury, and can satisfy all their requirements. The newspapers are writing about this. Over the last 25 years the population's deposits in savings banks have increased tens of times over. I am not denying that this testifies to people's increased prosperity. However, as far as I know, one-fifth of depositors account for 80 percent of the deposits...

I think I have mentioned here the main things we have lost. They cause me serious alarm.

P. Kulakov, Great Patriotic War veteran and CPSU member, Shchekino, Tula Oblast. [passage omitted]

Prescriptions Solicited for More Democracy
PM101555 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Party Life Department commentary under general heading: "More Democracy"]

[Text] More democracy... This idea links many letters currently arriving at the editorial office during the runup to the 19th all-union party conference. There are all sorts of letters. But concern that democracy in our party and society should be developed more extensively and deeply is something that is bothering almost everyone. And that is understandable.

At the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev noted that the main thing today is democratization. It is the decisive means of achieving the goals of restructuring.

The development of democracy has brought many innovations into our life. Until recently we could not even have thought that workers' collectives would be able to elect directors themselves. Party raykom and gorkom secretaries are also increasingly often elected now from among several candidates by secret ballot. Many party meetings and party committee plenums have begun to be held in a businesslike and candid way, without formal ostentation. This atmosphere makes it possible to discuss the problems facing us in greater depth and to make more accurate decisions....

Of course, we must not get euphoric. Along with these meetings and plenums there are still many others where people try to make the discussion a bureaucratic formality. Why? They are just like that. After all, it is far easier to work in the manner to which they are "accustomed"—that is, excessively organizing any measure in order to prevent any unexpected occurrences.

No, the wind of these times is fairly shaking up old, ramshackle, and inefficient directives! Today we can no longer work in the old way. People want to feel that they are in complete control in their own country, just as they are in their own home. But is this possible without a free flow of ideas or active participation in common work? Of course not.

The party is called upon to set an example of democracy, as it must set an example in everything else. But here, it must be said, restructuring is by no means going smoothly. Why? Many party committees and their apparatuses are too attached to command methods and strive too hard to dictate to everyone and make decisions for everyone. How then can they account for the diversity of human abilities, interests, or capacities!

Yet this is utterly necessary. It was clearly stated from the rostrum at the Central Committee February Plenum that at the new stage of restructuring the party can ensure its leading and vanguard role and enthuse the masses for profound transformations only by utilizing democratic methods of work.

We note that this is not a simple task. How can it best be resolved? How can we develop democracy in the party and society more extensively and deeply? We probably need a collective and directly nationwide council. Many of our readers are calling for such a council. In their letters to the editorial office they suggest: "Let PRAVDA directly ask readers what needs to be done in order to democratize intraparty and social life."

Well, as part of the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference the editorial office addresses this question to all its readers. The answers to it can be either brief or extensive. What would you personally say from the conference rostrum? What specifically would you say and suggest? To what would you draw attention?

For instance, it would be interesting to learn about the best experience of democratization in your rayon, city, labor collective, or primary party organization. Also tell us about the difficulties, obstacles, and impediments in the way. What things are slowing democratization down? What problems should be resolved first of all?

In short, write in about everything that pleases or concerns you in connection with this truly limitless subject.

Poll Shows Perestroyka Improves Living Standards
LD121904 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 12 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov writes:

Perestroyka which has spread to all spheres of life of Soviet society after the 27th CPSU Congress, promotes real improvement of living standards of working people. This is a sociological conclusion drawn as a result of a study of a way of life in 28 Soviet regions. Assessing changes in their lives in the past few years, 60 per cent of 10,000 people polled by researchers of the Sociological Studies Institute said of the improvement in their material position. 47 per cent of the polled pointed to better supplies with foodstuffs. 40 percent of poll participants noted that the USSR was successfully realizing the housing programme. They got convinced of this by their own experience.

Asked about priorities in personal life, most of the polled placed first happy family life, and an interesting job was placed second.

In an interview with TASS, Professor Ivan Levykin said that poll data show that, despite the fact that stagnation signs in Soviet society in the late 1970s and the early 1980s resulted in a spread of parasitic psychology and a growth in time-serving attitudes among some part of population, the majority of Soviet people regard honest work as the main thing in their life and are convinced in the high value of the rules of socialist morale.

'Top Priority' Discusses June Party Conference
LD121818 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 12 Mar 88

["Top Priority" program, hosted by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov]

[Excerpts] [Kuznetsov] How do you do ladies and gentlemen, welcome to Top Priority with Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov. I'm your host Pavel Kuznetsov. [passage omitted] For today I'd like to suggest a topic that we haven't discussed yet, and it deals with the upcoming 19th Communist Party Conference to be held in late June. We haven't had any party conferences in this country since February 1941, but why don't we take a look at the preparations for the party conference and the situation inside the country. [passage omitted]

[Bogdanov] I would like to say first of all that the coming party conference, with every day becoming the major event of the Soviet domestic life, is number one. Number two: all of us, all of us, we have very big expectations with that conference and all of us believe that that conference will take, will give another push for our domestic development that we reach new frontiers in our development. And I would like to bring our listeners to the last speech of Secretary General Gorbachev at the last plenum.

[Kuznetsov] Held in February.

[Bogdanov] Held last month, where he laid down, if you like, laid down a ground, if you like, a spiritual ground, whatever you call it, for the next party conference. He has already formulated what will be the major, the main goals of the conference and I believe that his main idea is that the number one item of the conference will be the improvement of the Soviet political system; that's what I, that's my understanding of this epeech, and that is his major, major goal.

[Kuznetsov] Yes I understand that, because obviously the party has been plagued by much the same problem as the nation itself, and if we say that this society should be changed and is to change then the party itself has to change, and this is precisely what Mikhail Gorbachev said both in his address to the 27th Communist Party Congress and at the subsequent Central Committee meeting, the full-scale Central Committee meeting, he kept saying that the party should set an example for the whole nation. He was candid and very frank in confronting those problems such as inefficiency and the bureaucratic style of work, the lack of criticism and self-criticism. He even added at the plenary session that you already mentioned, he even said that the leading role of the Communist Party in Soviet society was not a gift from certain divine forces, but was a result of selfless work for decades, over the decades, by party members in all areas of human endeavor. And so that should improve in the first place. Prof Plekhanov, what strikes you as the most important thing?

[Bogdanov] Before professor starts, I would like to put a question: Why not a party congress? In the Soviet political life as usual we have a major event which is called the party congress. Why we cannot wait, Professor, until the party congress comes? Why this party conference, what is it all about?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think it's a good question, and it brings me to thinking about our history, the history of our party. [passage omitted] This time the conference is bound to break that pattern because after 3 years of perestroyka, and this is a revolutionary time, there is no doubt about it, we have had a whole bunch of issues, a whole range of issues and various voices and a lot of ideas which need to be discussed. [passage omitted]

[Kuznetsov] Perhaps what was in Lenin's political will and what is going to happen at the 19th party congress are going to be very...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] 19th party conference.

[Kuznetsov] Conference, conference, excuse me, are going to be very closely related to each other.

[Bogdanov] Pavel there is, if you like, there is a historical logic in his political will and in the time of implementation of his political will. [passage omitted]

[Kuznetsov] It's uncanny the way Lenin's last thoughts are applicable today. It's really, we find very many useful ideas in his thoughts, and when I start thinking about that it seems to me sometimes that those ideas might have been too good for the situation back in the twenties. Some of those ideas the country simply could not afford. I mean the situation developed in such an unhappy manner that the problem of bureaucratization became very acute. Lenin warned against that, but apparently the party was not able to grapple with the problem.

[Plekhanov] There were too many frictions within the party.

[Kuznetsov] That's right, and not only that. You see you are dealing, you are trying to change a country which has its own history—which has its own genetic code if you will—its own traditions, and the bureaucratic tradition in Russia has always been so strong that I'm not surprised that in 1917 we tried to dislodge the bureaucracy, in the twenties we tried to do that, and we are still doing that, trying to do that. It doesn't mean that the previous efforts were in vain; they took us to a different level, but the struggle is not yet over. Bureaucracy is a problem.

We've been talking for some time and as time is running out on us I would like each of you to formulate very briefly the following. What would you like to see happening at the party conference in June? Which is in your view the most important area to be handled today, in a very urgent and businesslike manner?

[Bogdanov] I believe the further democratization of our political life.

[Plekhanov] I fully agree with that.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you gentlemen, our time is up and I'd like to promise our listeners that on our next program, either with me or with Vladimir Pozner if he comes back from the States by that time, we will take a look at the U.S. political scene after Super Tuesday and after perhaps several more primaries. That was Top Priority. Till next week the best of listening to all of you.

'Real life' Not Posthumous Criticism Needed

PM140707 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10, 6 Mar 88 p 3

[Mikhail Poltoranin article: "Convince Not Command"]

[Text] The main tasks of the 19th All-Union Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, scheduled for June 28, were determined last summer-to sum up the results so far of perestroyka and to determine the measures for the further democratization of the life of the party and society.

These tasks are dictated by the logics of renewal. They are extremely up-to-date. As Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed many times—democratization of society depends on democratization of the party. In the decades when extensive methods prevailed in the development of Soviet society, the habit of "expanding laterally" shaped not only the image of the economy, the extensive psychology also penetrated the party life. The boundaries of influence of the party apparatus also expanded over decades, leaving no room for anyone's independence. The duplication of functions helped fuse the Party and state apparatus and opened the ways to lack of control, persecution for criticism and the cult of reporting—that visiting card of the stagnation times.

In the favourable moral atmosphere which took shape after April 1985, a whole number of party committees started in earnest to work along more democratic lines and to readjust to the new atmosphere of perestroyka, dropping their previous authoritarian approach. I was able to witness such changes in Minsk and in a number of Moscow districts. I know of unofficial leaders who were promoted to responsible posts, of party organizations which increased dialogue with councils of work collectives and with independent associations.

There are quite a lot of such examples, and yet perestroyka within the party apparatus, if we take the country as a whole, has not yet become widespread. Mikhail Gorbachev said in his report on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution:"...We can see that some cities, districts, and regions and even some republics have not yet got down to perestroyka in earnest. This is a direct result of political and organizational inertia and lack of initiative displayed by party committees and their leaders."

No wonder the recent meetings and plenums at which 20 million Communists heard the reports on how the party organs at different levels (right up to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics) had led perestroyka, regarded the work done by 4,800 party committees and party bureaus as unsatisfactory and replaced over 89,000 members of elected party organs.

The main task is to raise the overall standards of party work to a qualitatively new level. What does this mean? It means using intellect instead of a loud voice, the logics of conviction instead of thoughtless restrictions. It means abiding by common sense, always and in everything, and applying the principle "Everything not forbidden by law is allowed". It means applying scientific analysis instead of just guessing, being attentive to a strategy of development in society and determining the directions of its movement, instead of having an economic mess.

The high overall standards of party work mean high overall standards of the party as a whole, and the party's moral health has a decisive influence on the health of society. I cannot remember a single conversation of late when the question of the need to expand inner-party democracy was not raised—by very different people, too. The party's authority and ability to act depend in a large measure on the level of self-criticism within it.

For a long time those who loved to take vengeance for being criticized got away with it. I am saying this because when I was a PRAVDA correspondent I often helped people who had been unlawfully dismissed from work (and whose problems had started precisely when they had made a critical speech at a meeting).

Today, the voices demanding the necessary guarantees of security for those who criticize are noticeably louder. Such guarantees, and the establishment of criticism as a norm of party life, would make it possible to switch from the habit of late, sometimes posthumous criticism to criticism that might be useful in real life.

Fear of being persecuted for criticism, or for your own view on things, is a heritage from Stalin's times, as is the fearful approach to inner-party discussions—people still remember the glaring labels which were dangerous for those they were pinned on.

The task of the CPSU is to make sure the question of collective leadership in the party is never exacerbated again. The "salvoes" fired today by the Soviet press against bureaucratic centralism help us avoid relapses of an unfavourable kind and prepare the road forward, as does the course taken for expansion of democracy within the party, above all, where it promises to increase the role of primary party organizations which are in the front line of the struggle for perestroyka.

The all-union party conference must become a serious step precisely in this direction. It will be held practically at mid-distance between the two party congresses, but in the second stage of perestroyka, which is even more complex in its goals and tasks.

Theater Director's Possible Return From Exile
LD101505 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1149 GMT 10 Mar 88

[By Aleksandar Novacic]

[Text] Moscow, March 10 (TANJUG)—The Master and Margerita and other pieces directed by Yuriy Lyubimov are again being shown at Moscow's Taganka Theatre, but the name of the world-famous theatre's founder and main director appears nowhere on the posters.

Lyubimov, whose Soviet citizenship was taken away in 1984, lives in the West, but does not hide his wish to go back to his land of birth.

With the aim of at least partially correcting the injustice done to Lyubimov, his one-time close associate and former Taganka actor Venyamin Smekhov recently published an article in his defence in TEATAR magazine.

Although he opened the article by stressing that it was not politically motivated, but rather aimed at illuminating Lyubimov's artistic work, Smekhov did not manage to avoid political implications, because art and politics have always been one and the same thing in Lyubimov's work.

Characterizing Lyubimov's 20-year-long period of managing the Taganka as years of "artistic, human and civil happiness," Smekhov confirms in his article what has already been unofficially, at least partially, known about the activities of Moscow's most interesting theatre.

There has not been a single performance, the ex-actor remembers, that has not been passed "without a humiliating treatment of the whole company" by the board of censors. Large segments of already-prepared shows have been "cut out and banned" just before the opening night, while on some occasions the bans have covered the whole performances.

Smekhov described how Lyubimov, while fighting the "uncultured bureaucracy," used to go as far as the party Politburo, and even Leonid Brezhnev in person, asking them for protection or an "amnesty" for his theatre.

After the death of poet Vladimir Vysotskiy, who acted at the Taganka, the show describing the character of this extraordinary figure in Soviet culture was banned.

Lyubimov insisted that the show be "passed," but instead came an attempt to replace him. Actors who side with their director were fired, Smekhov writes.

The third ban imposed on "Vladimir Vysotskiy," which the Taganka's actors re-staged as a matter of honour on every anniversary of the death of their fellow-actor, was fatal for Lyubimov.

The director, who was undergoing medical treatment in Great Britain at the time, was erased from the roll of Soviet citizens by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

After Mikhail Gorbachev became the Soviet leader, for some time there was talk of Lyubimov's return to Moscow. Taganka's actors write to Gorbachev and spoke with Lyubimov over the telephone.

However, the chances of Lyubimov's return fell to zero two years ago after he signed a text which the Soviet leadership saw as an attack on itself. The Soviet press wrote at the time that Lyubimov had "travelled to London with a return ticket, which will now remain unused."

After Smekhov's article in TEATAR, this is not a foregone conclusion any more.

Weekly To Publish English Language Edition
LD112334 Moscow TASS in English 2033 GMT 11 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—Soviet LITERATURNAYA GAZETA which has become widely popular for its pungent journalistic articles and impartial critical surveys will be published in English.

From January 1989 it will start reaching the readers of Britain, the United States and other English-speaking countries, it was announced at a press conference here today.

Aleksandr Chakovskiy, editor-in-chief of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, regards the emergence of its English-language edition as "an illustration of the lively interest being shown around the world in the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and, on the other hand, as the fact of recognition of the services of the creative staff of the editorial office in the coverage of perestroyka and democratisation of Soviet society".

Numerous comments in the world press, the editor-in-chief pointed out, indicate that most diverse people—politicians, businessmen, intellectuals, and journalists of various countries take interest in articles published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. From now on they will be able to receive literary and other news from the Soviet Union first-hand.

The forthcoming publication of the newspaper in the English language is resultant of cooperation of Soviet journalists with the consortium of British and North American publishers, Mark Jones, co-publisher from Britain, said. The readers will get it once in two weeks. The original circulation in the United States and Britain will be 30,000 and subsequently it is planned to be brought up to 70,000.

The newspaper will be run and published in the Soviet Union whereas our task is to reveal demand, determine the market, and distribute the newspaper among readers, Mr Jones pointed out.

The English-language edition of the newspaper will retain all the main rubrics which are customary for the Soviet reader. At the same time, taking into account the specificity of the foreign user, it is planned to invite leading Western publicists to contribute to it widely, and to run ads.

It was pointed out at the press conference that negotiations were under way to publish LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Italy as well.

Zakharov Views Cultural Reforms, Ethnic Unrest

PM140914 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish
9 Mar 88 p 18

[Report on interview with Soviet Culture Minister Vasiliy Zakharov by Alfonso Rojo in Madrid; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Rojo] Minister, it is now 3 years since Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power and the start of the restructuring policy. Although a large proportion of the reform is directed toward the economy, the changes in this field are more difficult and less spectacular than in the cultural sphere. What are the major achievements of restructuring in cultural terms?

[Zakharov] There are both objective and subjective kinds. On the one hand basic investments have increased in the cultural field. I do not want to bore you with figures, but in the present 5-year period allocations to areas such as restoration and the theater are double what they were in the previous period. Apart from this real change, there is democratization, the "glasnost" process. We make no important decisions without first consulting leading representatives of culture, the artists' unions. This is combined with a change in the conception of democratization, which in essence consists of rejecting the method of bans because it is inconsistent with the present phase. We believe diversity must reign and that bans only help to nurture that which we want to eliminate.

[Rojo] Does this mean that any kind of artistic expression is possible in the USSR today?

[Zakharov] The defense of diversity in art does not presuppose our neutrality or indifference. We will not ban any particular artistic events, though we will continue to support those such as folk art and our classical heritage.

[Rojo] Expressed in this way, there seems to be a substantial change in the party's role with respect to culture.

[Zakharov] Yes, indeed. The party and state are not abandoning culture. They will continue to guarantee its financial foundations but, in contrast to what happened previously, the artistic process is determined by people in the cultural world; it is they who will make the decisions on repertoire, works, and what should or should not be published—without bans.

[Rojo] It is noteworthy that a large proportion of young people in the USSR are fans of rock music or of cultural events identical to those enjoyed by youngsters in the West. Do you not believe that 70 years of revolution is a long time just to end up in the same place as the West?

[Zakharov] To regard rock as an exclusively western phenomenon is the same as describing symphonic music as Russian. Each generation has its own rhythms and kinds of music. In the thirties there was great interest in jazz in the USSR, and youngsters fascinated by that music combated fascism without a moment's hesitation. There are no elevated or lowly genres, there is just good and bad. When rock was said to be banned in the Soviet Union, though actually it was merely denied access to the major concert halls, there were some 70,000 musical groups in the country. When they were permitted to appear on stage they decreased to 30,000, which demonstrates what I said earlier about bans.

[Rojo] The level of criticism possible in the media has risen, but when will it be possible for a real opposition group to publish a newspaper freely?

[Zakharov] There is nothing to prevent it. It is the publishing houses, as in the case of the theater or movie makers groups, which decide what should or should not be published. I have sometimes asked why Solzhenytsin is not published, in view of the recent publication of Shatrov's "Onward, Onward" which seeks to explain how Stalinism emerged and is a really tough work, and my conclusion is that many people regard Solzhenytsin not only as someone opposed to the system but also as someone offensive to the Soviet public.

[Rojo] Some intellectuals are returning from exile. Could someone such as Solzhenitsyn return?

[Zakharov] Large numbers have returned. We do not press anyone to do so and neither do we prevent anyone from doing so. All that needs to be done is to send a letter of request to the Supreme Soviet. The case is examined and a reply is issued. Nobody is excluded a priori.

[Rojo] Under Khrushchev there was a major opening up, especially in the cultural field: Pasternak was published, even Solzhenytsin's "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" appeared, and Stalinism was criticized. What qualitative difference is there with what is happening now? Why should people not regard Gorbachev's restructuring as temporary too?

[Zakharov] Khrushchev played an important role but his reforms did not affect the whole of society, unlike what is happening now. Restructuring entails thorough changes—in fields ranging from industrial output to culture—and real democratization. The current changes are irreversible and profound and we do not regard them as a static phenomenon. They are the start of a process that will continue. [Zakharov ends]

During our lengthy interview with the Soviet culture minister much of our conversation centered on two topics. One was the recent ethnic unrest in Azerbaijan in which no less than 31 people died, according to TASS. The other was the sale of works by contemporary Soviet artists through the auctioneers, Sothebys.

With regard to the latter, Zakharov explained that Sothebys representatives personally selected the works in Moscow and that the profits of the sale—apart from 20 percent retained by the Soviet state—will go to the artists.

"This 20 percent tax is considerably lower than that imposed by countries such as France, which withholds up to 60 percent," the minister commented in a humorous tone, mentioning repeatedly during our conversation the "virtues of artistic competence."

In his analysis of recent events in Azerbaijan, where there were violent clashes between Armenians and Muslims, Zakharov said that it must be borne in mind that "Soviet Russia united more than 100 different nationalities.

"Lenin's wisdom is evident in his prediction that the differences between nationalities would endure even after the elimination of class distinctions," the minister said. He added that the Soviet system has eliminated the injustices of tsarism but not yet resolved all the problems that affected the previous regime.

"The recent events in Nagorno-Karabakh show, for instance, that there are ill-defined borders between nations. There was no Armenian television in that area, even though the majority of the population is Armenian. The local government was not Armenian either, and this is a source of conflict. The problem could have been resolved differently but the local authorities exacerbated the disputes through a series of errors."

Having acknowledged that there could be a repetition of the conflicts, the Soviet culture minister stressed that the protests were at no time antisocialist or anti-Russian in nature. With regard to Sumgait, where according to TASS 31 people died, Zakharov attributed the violent incidents to the combined action of "a vandalistic nationalist group" and stressed that those responsible have been arrested and will be tried very soon.

USSR Scheduled To Begin Summer Time 27 March

TB141437 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 12 MAR 88

[Text] I want to start this broadcast by a report from the USSR State Commission for Unified Time and Standardized Frequencies. It says that on Sunday 27 March summer time will be introduced on the territory of the Soviet Union. The change-over to summer time will be carried out at 0200 hours on 27 March [2300 GMT 26 March] by putting the hand of the clock one hour ahead.

On the territory of Volgograd and Saratov oblasts the hand of the clock will not be changed in connection with the establishment there of the time belt regime operating for the second time belt.

Economic

Leasing, Shares System Limitations Outlined

PM140719 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 8, Feb 1988 (Signed to Press 19 Feb 88) p 17

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Nikiforov, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute Department of General Problems of Socialist Political Economy, under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "The General and the Individual: New Forms of Links: On Leasing Investments in Enterprises, and Shares"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In economic practice recently new forms of economic relations have been developed such as the lease contract, the leasing of small enterprises in industry and the services sphere, and the issuing of shares by enterprises. What is the social nature of these forms, and to what extent do they help solve the fundamental tasks of radically reforming economic management? The editorial office asked Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Nikiforov, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute Department of General Problems of Socialist Political Economy, to reply to these questions.

Restructuring forces us to rethink many of our previous concepts about forms of economic realization of social ownership, the content and forms of the combination of social, collective, and individual interests, and effective forms of economic relations under socialism. It would appear that leasing relationships, the attracting of working people's capital by enterprises, and shares are different economic phenomena. But they have a common basis and reflect the same trend in the development of social ownership in contemporary conditions. That is the achievement of a synthesis of the social, collective, and individual appropriation, disposal, and utilization of the social means of production.

The Logical Conclusion of Economic Accountability [Khozraschet] [subhead]

Under the world economic mechanism and economic management system, working people's collectives and individuals to a large degree lost their position as direct subjects of ownership relations. All this resulted in the disappearance of the sense of being master and an interested attitude to work and its results. Poor use was made of the internal driving forces of socialism's development—the initiative and enterprise engendered by the position of each person and collective as owners together with other people and the whole of society.

One of the most important tasks of radical economic reform is the restoration of the position of the collective and the working person as the true masters of production, as real subjects of ownership relations. The revival of the proprietorial attitude to labor and production is possible primarily along the lines of a development of economic accountability which permits collectives and individual workers to feel their position as master materially and socially. That is, to feel that the enterprises at which they work and the means of production at their disposal belong not only to society and the state, but to each one of them. This is the essence of the general thrust of restructuring ownership relations.

It is becoming increasingly clear that social ownership is a multilevel relationship realized through various forms of disposal and utilization of the means and results of production by the state, the labor collectives, and individual workers. Leasing is one of these forms, developing primarily within the framework of enterprises and based on the well-known principles of tax in kind [prodnalog]. Essentially it is the continuation and logical conclusion of economically accountable contract relations.

Leasing relations can develop not only within an enterprise. It is possible to lease small enterprises—state and cooperative enterprises. For example, public catering enterprises are being leased in the system of consumer cooperatives. This form of leasing is only taking its first steps, but it holds promise for small enterprises, especially in the services sphere.

The state or cooperative grants the collective of the leased enterprise the right to dispose of the means of production, divesting itself of responsibility for the results of management; that is, forcing it to really work on the principles of self-capitalization and self-financing. The relations which emerge here are close to relations of genuine economic accountability. Where is the border between economic accountability and leasing? I believe that essentially the border may be quite theoretical, if economic accountability is really total: for example, if the so-called second pattern of economic accountability develops, when the wage fund is formed exclusively on the basis of the economically accountable results of management. Real economic accountability, carried out consistently, is indeed the basis of leasing.

Conditions of Development [subhead]

So what still limits the development of leasing relations today?

First, any serious undertaking must be done seriously. The expediency and possible limits of the extent of leasing must be checked. Rational forms and effective relations must be found in connection with rent, the distribution of income received, and the sale of products made.

Second, leasing relations can only develop widely together with reform. It is one of the aspects of reform. As it develops, a base will be created both for internal economic leasing and for leasing in a broader sense. Leasing relations increase the economic responsibility of collectives and individual workers for the results of their activity and are an embodiment of the new forms of economic relations. For this reason not only must leasing relations not be restrained but, on the contrary, favorable economic, legal, and organizational conditions must be created to develop and expand them. The organization of wholesale trade and the improvement of financial credit relations and price fixing practice will help to deepen economically accountable, contract, and leasing relations.

The question arises: Will not the development of leasing relations mean the transformation of socialism into lease socialism, whereby all enterprises are leased to collectives and relations in general assume a leasing nature?

I do not believe there are grounds for talking about so-called lease socialism. First, collectives and individual working people together with the whole of society and as an organic part of it are the owners of the means of production. The means of production and the enterprises that are leased never go outside the framework of social ownership. Second, it would be altogether incorrect to reduce production relations merely to economically accountable and especially leasing relations. There are fundamental aspects of economic relations connected with the securing of major structural changes in the national economy, scientific and technical policy, and the implementation of socioeconomic transformations, social progress as a whole, and the comprehensive development of the individual which cannot be realized according to leasing and economically accountable principles.

Consequently, the activity of enterprises must not be regarded from positions of leasing relations alone even when those relations are well developed. Leasing is just one specific form of socialist production relations. The terms of the lease, the rent, and the close dependence of the collective's and the worker's income on the income received should ensure priority for social interests, as well as stimulating individual interest in production development.

On a Share Basis [subhead]

New forms of economic relations such as the attraction by enterprises of their own workers' capital and the issuing by them of securities, for example shares, constitute a share basis of participation in the development of the enterprise.

The share or share payment is one of the classic principles for combining the individual with the common, as used in cooperatives. Unfortunately, in our cooperatives this aspect of relations has been virtually lost. In the consumer cooperatives it does still exist, but it plays a purely formal role. Yet it is important for a cooperative member to know that the common capital is capital that belongs not only to everybody but to him as well. The statutes governing new cooperatives make no mention of share relations either, though in practice they are frequently used. After all, cooperatives need initial capital, which is contributed by their participants in the form of money, machinery, and instruments.

In new cooperatives the question of the fate of the accumulated capital arises immediately. Currently, for instance, on the cessation of a cooperative's activity all the capital is divided among the participants. But in practice cooperatives use the capital belonging to the whole people in various forms in their activity (infrastructure, expenditure on the training of cadres, certain types of material resources, and so forth). Accumulations are so far not very great, and the problem is not very acute. In the future it may become very substantial. The processes of share formation, utilization, repayment, and inheritance in cooperatives should without fail be regulated by legal norms. It is also necessary to determine the reasons for the formation of the shared and the nonshared portion in a cooperative's capital.

Some economic leaders express misgivings about the development of share relations, thinking this will lead to a distortion of socialist relations. But, after all, the share is a form connected with the realization of a person's position as participant in relations of collective ownership. Share relations may also be used in the state economy as one of the methods of combining social and individual capital and interests and of ensuring the direct participation of working people in relations of social ownership.

Share relations are possible in various forms, but in all cases they are a means of attracting the population's money and material resources to develop social production and the social sphere. It may be, for example, investments of money by workers in their cooperatives and state enterprises. For these investments the investors should, of course, receive a dividend in the same way as in a savings bank. The dividend in this case may be higher, since there is a certain risk for the shareholder because an enterprise's income depends on the results of its activity. The better the financial result, the higher the dividend; the worse the result, the lower the dividend.

It is important for investor's capital to be used directly for the production of a definite product. Then the dividend paid is covered by the output of that product. In this case working people's investments in enterprises will help improve the correlation between the supply of goods and the money available and more fully satisfy the population's needs.

The investments, which the employees of a given enterprise may make, strengthen their individual interest in ensuring effective production development, raising its technical standards, and making rational use of all types of resources. If the money is channeled into social facilities, in that case the dividend may be partially replaced by the social benefits provided by the construction of, for instance, a pioneer camp or a leisure center.

Pros and Cons of Investments [subhead]

It must be clearly seen that shares, investments, and loans are contradictory phenomena. On the one hand, they make it possible to attract additional capital and interest people in developing production and enhancing the results of enterprises' activity. On the other hand, a person receives income from the money invested. The income depends on the sum invested, that is, on past work. We have before us a real contradiction, and it must be borne in mind and considered.

A comparison of the pros and cons of share relations, in particular working people's investments in enterprises' development, shows that the negative aspects of these relations can be considerably moderated, and some of them can be completely avoided, if the procedure for the formation of shares, investments, and the growth of share capital accumulations is appropriately regulated. But the positive features of share relations cannot be replaced by other forms, since it is possible to successfully combine common and individual interests through the share, investments, and loans.

It is expedient to elaborate official legal documents on shares, investments, and other devices for attracting working people's capital (shares, bonds), the growth of share capital accumulations, and interest rates, so that—by generalizing the experience of development of these new forms of organizing economic relations generated by production itself—their features resulting from social ownership may be more fully revealed.

With the elaboration of such documents to prevent negative tendencies in connection with the attraction of working people's capital, it is possible to restrict the size of share payments, investments, and loans. Thus, it is possible to establish a differentiated, diminishing coefficient of the interest rate as the absolute size of the payment or investment increases. Ultimately, it is possible to recommend that interest rates be linked to the results of workers' labor activity. If a person works better, the interest rate may be higher—which will strengthen the link between labor and income.

Investments are a simple form of share relations. A more complex form is the issue and sale of securities (shares, bonds, and others) by enterprises and cooperatives.

The issuing of shares and securitites in general is a very serious step, since securities can have their own circulation. In this case, is it possible to avoid possible undesirable features? It seems to be. To do this—in any case at first—shares must be named, to ensure sale and redemption through the enterprise and dissemination only among the workes of a given enterprise. Shares must not be allowed to legalize capital obtained by unjust means.

The various forms of share relations ought neither to be restrained nor inculcated artificially. Neither produces positive results. The attraction of working people's capital, investments in enterprises, and the issuing of shares must be regulated by each enterprise's need for money, the potential for giving it material support, and the unfettered wishes and interests of the people. The correlation between these factors will determine the extent of development of the new forms of economic relations.

Summer Conversion Scheduled To Begin 27 March
PM150929 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Summer Time"]

[Text] The USSR State Commission for Standard Time and Standard Frequencies reports that "summer" time will be introduced on the territory of the Soviet Union on 27 March 1988.

The change to "summer" time will take place at 0200 hours on 27 March when the hour hand will be advanced by 1 hour.

On the territory of Volgograd and Saratov Oblasts, the hour hand will not be advanced because of the introduction in those oblasts of a zonal time system operating in the 2d hour zone.